

FRANCE AND GERMANY IN AN AGE OF CRISIS 1900–1960

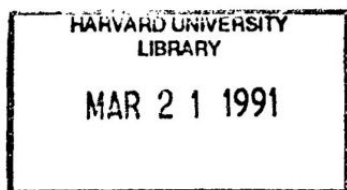
STUDIES IN MEMORY OF CHARLES BLOCH

EDITED BY

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THE BEGINNINGS OF HISTORICAL ANIMOSITY BETWEEN MARXISM AND ZIONISM

SHLOMO NA'AMAN

I

The 'Jewish question' has existed ever since Jews live as a minority dispersed among other nations — in effect, since the First Exile. The question manifested itself, on the one hand, as hatred directed toward the Jews by their environment; and, on the other, by a sense of alienation and messianic longing among the Jews themselves. The dialectic of 'Jew-hatred' and messianic longing has been one of the key topics of Jewish history over a period of many centuries in multifarious and changing forms. Yet there was no fundamental change in this dialectic until the double revolution of the 18th century — the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution. The industrial revolution made economic advancement possible for Jews to an extent previously unknown; the political revolution brought a degree of legal equality unprecedented in its breadth and depth. The rise of Jews up the social and political ladder had been a continuous process, but was completed in all those countries where the double revolution took root during the course of the 19th century.

The reaction to the political and economic advancement of Jews was also double in form: among many Jews who had risen on the wings of the two revolutionary developments, a tendency toward assimilation took hold, i.e., a tendency to replace the feeling of 'exile' by a desire to adapt. Among certain sectors of the nations in whose midst they lived, this adaptive tendency was met by opposition to Jewish advancement, attempts to thwart it, or at least to slow its pace. The old general and indistinct hatred of Jews, largely manifested in religious forms, now took on an explicit, declared and formulated guise, and sought a new name. It found that new name in the term 'antisemitism', and in a specific object, the emancipation. For hundreds of years, Jews had been despised; now, scientific justification was sought for that enmity.

One of the first to see the reality of the Jewish situation in this light and to regard the Jews as a legitimate object for theoretical research was Karl Marx.

Karl Marx was born in 1818 in Trier, previously the capital of a

church state, and in the time of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era a French district town, which fell after the battle of Waterloo under the provincial administration of Prussia. Karl's father, Heinrich Marx, viewed the Prussian occupation as irreversible, and accommodated to the new regime by being baptized to the dominant faith of the Prussian monarchy immediately after the occupation. The baptism itself was performed by a chaplain of the occupying army. The entire population was Catholic, and only those who desired to move closer to the new authorities adopted the Protestant religion; among these new converts was Heinrich Marx. Otherwise, he would not have been able to serve as an attorney. Yet it was his hope to tighten his connection with the new government even more — he wished for a governmental career for himself or his son. This he failed to accomplish. His former Jewishness — and his liberalism — were viewed by the authorities in a negative light, and his son rejected any notion of being a slave of the government bureaucracy. He dreamed of a career in literature and philosophy, free from any external constraints.¹

Most of the family of Heinrich Marx and his wife Henriette, née Pressburg, were converts to Christianity. We know of only one descendant who remained faithful to the family tradition (on both sides) of producing rabbis and Talmudic scholars. This radical face-about from climbing up the ladder of Talmudic scholarship to the ladder of secular or business careers, was not typical of all those born in that generation. Hesitation and gradualism are more characteristic, yet one should bear in mind that the Marx family had a tradition of successful involvement in intellectual pursuits, and this accelerated the switch from the finesse of Talmudic study to more secular intellectual exactitudes. In contradiction to numerous scholars who view Marx' conversion as a trauma which accompanied him all his life, it must be emphasized that we know of nothing suggesting any "self-hatred" in Karl Marx or his family. What is evident is the contempt he had for Judaism and its achievements: it is difficult to distinguish between contempt and hatred, especially when that hatred's source is living Jewish opponents, as in the case of Lassalle.²

The notion of '*Judentum*' or Judaism, for Marx as well as his intellectual associates, relates both to Jews in their totality and to Jews as individuals, as well as to their religion and culture. He felt contempt for Jews as individuals and loathed their culture as well as Christianity, Judaism's successor, since they were both based on an idea of personal divine rule, and also because of the developed system of arguments, casuistry and association on which the Tal-

mud and the Patristic literature are based. He believed that this conceptual framework should be dissolved by scientific criticism of Christianity, which would also affect its "parent", Judaism. The foundations of world culture are not to be found in Christianity or Judaism, but rather in the culture of classical Greece. Greek culture is of universal significance and contains the roots of aesthetics and philosophy, the two areas to which the young Marx aspired. Judeo-Christian culture, which many in his day considered a second source of their intellectual world, was in his eyes nothing more than a stumbling-block for humanistic culture, something that was best avoided. Marx had contact with many Jews, but was never interested in the problems that ensued from their Jewishness. If Jews as individuals bothered him, he criticized them as Jews, since such abuse was effective. First and foremost, however, was always the personal and specific hostility which he felt. The expression of animosity toward a rival as a Jew served his hostility regarding specific issues. This was not the typical attitude of an antisemite, for whom hatred of Jews is always of prime importance.³

The first publication with which Marx presented himself to the public consisted of two critical articles on essays by Bruno Bauer, his teacher and opponent, under the title "Die Judenfrage". They were published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* in 1844. This fact would appear to disprove the assertion that Marx was indifferent toward Jews, Judaism and his own Jewish background, but only apparently so. There is an error of perspective involved here, since they are indeed an affirmation of that indifference. Though the essays mention the Jewish question in their title, they do not focus on that, but rather on the topic of human emancipation, the question of the split between society and the state and a change in their mutual positions in the future. The Jews function as an illustration of this, and this is also how Bauer made use of them in the course of his exposition. But Bauer was disturbed by the Jewish question, since he was opposed to their emancipation in the present. At some future time, when all Germans would be atheists and thus liberated, and Jews would break entirely with all remnants of their religion and would relinquish any privilege or guarantees regarding the preservation of their religion — he would consider that question anew. He did not commit himself in this regard, nor did he think it necessary to do so, since the entire matter was remote from reality. Bauer dealt with the Jewish question within the framework of their general emancipation. Marx did not. Bauer's essays served Marx only as a starting point, from which he

developed his new social discovery, namely that the goal of total emancipation the Hegelian radicals adhered to is not the product of a revolution in the spiritual and religious world, but rather the product of the criticism of a society which separates itself off from the state, that is, bourgeois society. The Jews served him as a foothold in order to develop this notion and to illustrate it. In his view, Jews were the pioneers of bourgeois society. In order to underpin his view of bourgeois society, to show its growing strength and the process of its emancipation from the state, he read an impressive number of books, in particular the literature on the American and French revolutions. To present the Jewish example, he did not read even a single book. He was content with his observations of Jewish life in Trier and Cologne, as well as the consensus opinion in the circle of Young Hegelians he came in contact with when editing the *Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne.

This essay by Marx, along with another article published by him in the same yearbook, "Zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie. Einleitung", mark the start of Marx's path as an architect of an alternative social structure, which culminated in his works *Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich* 1871 and *Zur Kritik des Gothaer Programms* 1875. One cannot follow Marx's development as a social thinker without focussing on this essay on the Jewish question, even if it marks only the beginning of his path.

The essay only reached a circle of adherents of Marx and his associate Engels, until it was published in 1902 by Franz Mehring among the posthumous papers of Marx, that is, among his neglected works. From that time on, it has been of fundamental importance in Marxian research, and thus the concept of the Jews as a prototype of the bourgeoisie has received the sanction of Marx's authority.

The essay served the positive purpose of presenting Marx as a social revolutionary, but indirectly it also functioned to implant the characterisation of Jews as the essence of the bourgeoisie in its most exploitative loathsome form, the Judaism of Mammon, of capital, which is also the claim raised by antisemitism.⁴

Marx devoted the second part of the essay to the description of this Jewry. It is a review of another essay by Bauer entitled "Die Fähigkeit der heutigen Juden und Christen, frei zu werden", in which he does not call for Jewish conversion to Christianity, but rather their identification with a dismantling of Christianity, of course after first breaking completely with Jewish religion. Marx bases himself on this strange demand made of Jews in order to speculate about their nature, not as followers of a different religion

but rather as a social class. He states that he is not interested in "Sabbath Jews" (Sabbatjuden), but rather in "everyday Jews" (Alltagsjuden), Jews as they appear in society. For those Jews, Mammon is the deity, their true nature is revealed in the *Schacher*, i.e. underhand business, be it in the retail trade or at the stock market, or as we may put it here, in Trier and its environs or in Cologne, the centre of commerce in the Rheinland: these were the Jews he had known among his father's customers and in the offices of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.⁵

This shorter essay contains a series of provocative formulations which astonished Marx's followers while he was still alive, but appall Jewish readers after the Holocaust, such as the sentence: "The emancipation of Jews is, in the final analysis, the emancipation of humanity from the Jews".⁶ By this Marx meant the creation of a society without commerce ("classless", in his last stage), but our generation hears another, more ominous tone here.

As an economist writing in the 1860's, Marx no longer considered the *Schacher* Jew, whether a small merchant or a stock-market giant like Rothschild, as a symbol of the bourgeoisie. His place was taken by the industrial magnate, who hoarded the surplus value of his workers' labour, and against whom he encouraged the class struggle, the first expression of which was the founding of the International Working Men's Association.

By the end of the century, only the antisemites still supported the mythical notion that the main exploiters were Jewish capitalists. Marx lived long enough to learn that the distorted notion of the source of exploitation, instead of disappearing, was growing stronger and spreading throughout all those countries that underwent an industrial revolution, and yet he held his silence. He updated all his writings in which he felt that the public was likely to understand the emancipatory message. Yet he left his youthful essay untouched, according to the principle that had guided him throughout his life, not to deal with any topic related to Jews. Eduard Bernstein, editor of the party newspaper that had been banned in Germany and was printed abroad since 1878, published the essay "Zur Judenfrage" because he thought it would immunize the party's confused followers in Germany against antisemitism.⁷ If Marx had come to his aid by explaining the second essay, correcting and updating it, he would have done the party an important service. But he adhered adamantly to the principle he had followed all his life, of avoiding any issue associated with Judaism or Jews. Thus the essay remained in all its ambivalence, a reflection of which can be found in the party's attitude in the face of the

phenomenon of growing antisemitism throughout Europe at the close of the 19th century. We will return to this matter below.

It is important for the biographer to note that Marx also ignored antisemitism when it was directed toward him personally. Two incidents should be emphasized. One of his important assistants in the editing of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in the revolutionary year 1848–49, Mueller-Telling, whom Marx had dispatched to report on events in Vienna, sent back reports full of antisemitic venom; Marx did not intervene. But when Mueller-Telling responded to a minor dispute in the form of a tract titled “Vorgeschmack in die künftige deutsche Diktatur von Marx und Engels” (A foretaste of the Future German Dictatorship of Marx and Engels), and attacked him with antisemitic vilification in the style of the Nazi *Stuerner*, he ignored the insult to him as a Jew and chose to respond only to the genuine or presumed insult to Engels.⁸

The campaign of calumny by Bakunin, Marx’s rival in the International, gained widespread publicity. Bakunin attacked Marx as a German and as a Jew. Marx responded to the attacks on him as a German, but not to those on him as Jew!

As mentioned, these two essays on the Jewish Question constitute the beginning of Marx’s path as a social revolutionary, but they also laid down the doctrine regarding the future of the Jews, though written in a careless way without any serious preparation. This was in contrast with Marx’s procedure when dealing with any other question. His invective against Judaism is no more harsh than that which he directed against the bourgeoisie, but the position of the bourgeoisie in modern society was analysed after he had read hundreds of books — and this is no figure of speech —, while when it came to the Jews, he based himself on what was said about Jews on the streets of Trier and in the salons of Cologne. Due to the close proximity of those notions to the struggle for self-clarification and the search for a path for the liberation of mankind, these incidental opinions regarding Jews also took on a certain weight, even though they had been such casual formulations, and were not the result of research.

According to these articles there is a place for Jews in society only as long as that society is bourgeois and distorted. Within such a society, they should be granted civil rights like everyone else. In the perfected society of the future (later — “the classless society”) they have no place — because there is no place left for Mammon. And Mammon is the God of Israel, the essence of its culture and the soul of the Jews. Only those Jews will have a place in the society of the future who participate in the movement for human emanci-

pation (in later formulation — “the socialist movement”). The “disappearance of the Jews” refers to their inferior language, their books of casuistry, their physical pollution and their uniqueness among the nations. Most of the Jews would disappear together with the exploiters. Only very few would live on amongst the humanists, as anonymous individuals without any special identity.⁹

A writer who chose, during the Holocaust, “*Der Untergang des Judentums*” as the title of his book, wishing to refer to the idea of Marx, only meant the eradication of Jewish identity, no more. But he did not understand the signs of his own times, and was murdered in Auschwitz.¹⁰

This double essay by Marx is thus important for his intellectual development, and its Jewish aspect is of biographical value; far more important however is its role in the formation of a conception of the Jewish question amongst intellectuals and the masses, even though this is hard to prove. There are few who point to the essay and its influence on them, because they read and considered these essays not with the purpose of understanding the Jewish problem, but rather to comprehend Marxism. Its influence on their view of the Jewish question was secondary, yet precisely because the simplicity and crudeness of the formulations were so suggestive, Marxism did not produce any research on the Jewish question that derived methodologically from its teachings.¹¹ For this reason, there was a readiness to incorporate the essays of the great teacher — who had himself stated that he was dealing with the “Jewish question” — as words of holy scripture. The spread of its influence among Marxists was only arrested by the fact that it had been written by Marx “before he became a Marxist”.¹² However, its influence was considerably aided by the fact that it was in complete keeping with the wishes and desires of numerous Jewish Marxists for whom Marxism represented an alternative emancipatory path to liberalism. Marx’s prophecy regarding the disappearance of the Jews as a group in the future did not worry them, but rather was a source of encouragement, since they had joined his camp in order to escape their Jewishness.

When numerous liberals had already come to understand that the Jewish question was more complex than simply the problem of acculturation (assimilation of Jews in the West), and the resistance to antisemitism in the East, the orthodox Marxists stubbornly persisted in claiming that there was no Jewish problem, and that antisemitism would disappear of its own accord after the establishment of the society of the future. Only these Marxists were still saying in 1945 what Marx had written in 1845. To put it

differently: only the Communists were still saying in 1945 what liberals had affirmed a hundred years before — namely, that the Jews were going to disappear as a result of assimilation. This sounds absurd, but it is true nonetheless.

II

There is no evidence that in the Karl Marx's home the subject of the family's Jewish origin was a topic of discussion.¹³ His daughters were radical atheists, and their spouses were likewise atheists. The two eldest daughters were married to Frenchmen who had no compunctions about exploiting antisemitism in order to create mass opposition.¹⁴ In this matter as well, there is no evidence of any dissaccord within the family. Only his daughter Eleanor, nicknamed among the circle of her friends "Tussy", was an exception. She emphasized her Jewish origin and concluded that it obliged her to show solidarity with Jewish causes.¹⁵ Both she and her life companion, Edward Aveling, were atheists. Yet this did not diminish her appreciation for special Jewish fate and her respect for the value of the unique Jewish contribution to culture. Tussy struck up a close friendship with the writer Amy Levy, who devoted herself to describing the lives of Jewish middle-class families and their problems, including their tendency toward socialism. Moreover, Tussy translated her novel into German and published it in the *Neue Zeit*,¹⁶ a periodical which avoided as much as possible any mention of a "Jewish problem" and certainly the issue of the Jewish bourgeoisie. But what could one make of the caprices of this daughter of Marx? Many sources testify that Tussy frequently emphasized her Jewishness in her public appearances, especially during the period of the Dreyfus trial, which according to her brothers-in-law, Lafargue and Longuet, could not hold any possible interest for a worker with a proper class consciousness.

Tussy lived the life of a socialist propagandist and trade-union activist, a life of material restriction and constant scuttling to and fro. Her sister Laura (her eldest sister Jenny died even before her father) lived a quiet middle-class life and avoided any strain. In no place did Tussy see the fruits of her effort as among Jewish workers, both male and female, in the poor districts generally identified as Whitechapel. She stood at their side against native British workers, and expressions of solidarity were her reward. She spoke German to Jewish audiences, and even learned Yiddish.¹⁷ This is indeed admirable, since even among the socialists at that time, Yiddish was regarded as a kind of jargon, a sort of underworld language.

Tussy saw at close range that the Jewish problem was not rooted simply in antisemitism, but was a real problem; masses of Jews were wandering across the world working under conditions that no native worker would ever agree to, and were not doing this for the greater glory of some sort of religious romanticism.

Thanks to Tussy, the Jewish problem entered the Marx household through the back door.

When we wondered earlier about the source for Karl Marx's impressions, on which he based what he wrote about the Jewish question, we found three such sources: (a) Trier and its environs, as seen from the perspective of his father, the attorney,¹⁸ (b) the Cologne bourgeoisie, which he viewed from the perspective of the editor's desk at the *Rheinische Zeitung* and (c) the evaluation of Jewish culture, seen through the eyes of the Hegelians, both lecturers and their students.

Engels, who outlived Karl Marx and was the first "Marxist", wrote nothing about the Jews, and found no need to deal with their problem, principally because the Jews close to him¹⁹ had no interest in Judaism. Tussy's activity changed all that — her enthusiastic involvement also stimulated the circle of her friends. If indeed Engels did appear in demonstrations and at meetings, this should also be considered as a reflection of Tussy's activism. Although there is no documentary evidence to support this, it is a fact that Engels was impressed by the readiness among Jews to see socialism ("in our time") as a solution to the tribulations of Jewish life, and that fact is documented. Marx knew only Jewish intellectuals, but Engels was familiar with Jewish proletarians as well — admittedly of a special nature — home workers — yet proletarians nonetheless, ready for any sacrifice.

Engels was the first Marxist who had anything to say on the Jewish question that differed from what Marx had already said: and Marx's perspective was quite narrow, uncompensated by any supplementary reading or study.

Engels communicated his view on the Jewish question to the socialist parties in a letter written to a Jew, and he motivated many papers to publish it.²⁰ This was in 1890, the year in which prohibition of socialist activity in Germany came to an end, as well as a peak year for antisemitic propaganda there and in Austria.

Isidor Ehrenfreund, a bank clerk in Vienna, suggested to Engels in a letter, that the socialist parties should adopt the tactics of exploiting the social and political awakening that had taken hold of the masses in Vienna and in other places as a result of antisemitism, in order to attract them to the socialist party; this was

obviously possible only if the socialist parties would also circulate antisemitic propaganda. This was an accepted propagandistic ploy in many workers' parties in the East and West.²¹ In France, for example, Paul Lafargue supported this, as did the narodniki in Russia.

Engels responded in a letter written on March 21, preserved only in part, which was published in the socialist paper in Vienna. This section of the letter opens with the crucial sentence: "You should consider carefully whether the use of antisemitism will not cause more harm than good". After that comes a correction of Marx's statement in his essay, that Judaism and the bourgeoisie are one and the same; Engels notes that the Rothschilds are midgets compared to the financial magnates of the United States, and that the role of the Jews in industry is not significant. In contrast, there is a big Jewish proletariat in London — refugees from the riots in Russia, with whom Engels was familiar thanks to the propagandistic and organizational activities of Eleanor Marx. In his view, Jewish capital was conspicuous only in backward and industrially underdeveloped countries; in Germany, this was to be found in the Junker-dominated sections east of the Elbe. The classes which were the legacy of the middle ages, classes being crushed by the effects of industrial development, such as peasants and artisans, were seeking refuge from their distress in antisemitism. Workers were free of this, and that was good. The best leaders of the workers, including men like Viktor Adler in Vienna, Eduard Bernstein in London and Paul Singer in Berlin, were Jewish.

With the publication of this letter, socialists had a document which dealt with one aspect of the Jewish question, namely antisemitism, in updated terms, utilizing concepts from Marxist theory. Though it failed to offer an overall view embracing past and future, like the essay written by Marx in his youth, the letter was also free of the one-sidedness and distortions contained in that essay. We, who have a hundred additional years of historical experience to draw on, must point out Engels' optimism regarding the 'natural resistance' of the workers to antisemitism and his certainty that the class struggle would succeed in realizing a perfected society; Engels reduced the Jewish question to that of antisemitism and underestimated the latter's scope. Despite this, we must recognize that Engels affirmed in his letter the programmatic rejection of antisemitism by the socialist movement, though he was, of course, unable to eradicate antisemitic sentiments among activists and comrades as individuals.

III

On July 9, 1892, August Bebel reported to Engels that he had been asked to lecture at the German Social-Democratic party's congress on the problem of antisemitism (and, of course, to present a formulation of a decision which would guide the party). He was pleased that a few days prior to this he had received a French translation of the above mentioned letter by Engels, which had been published in Vienna.²² We should thus not be surprised to find echoes of that same letter in Bebel's programmatic speech.²³ We can see that he based his speech on three elements: the letter written by Engels to Ehrenfreund, the essay by the young Marx, and his intimate acquaintance with the social ambience in Germany, based on his activity as a member of the Reichstag. He was asked to set the party's position on this pressing question in the light of the impressive success of the antisemitic parties in the elections, and agreed to do so. That success threatened the socialist party's prospects of gathering in its fold all those in the country who felt dissatisfaction. He dealt with the Jewish question in its entirety only insofar as it was connected with antisemitism, in a similar way to that of Engels and according to the same arguments. He touched upon the totalistic humanism of Marx only insofar as it condemned the Jews as an embodiment of the bourgeoisie. Marx's most vehement sentences were chosen by Bebel as quotations, in order to prove that their true significance was not to strengthen antisemitism, but rather to attack the bourgeois system, which became in its entirety a system of profiteering, as exemplified in the life of the Jews. If we wish to liberate Jews from their existence as underhand business, we must change the system of bourgeois life to a system without any such profiteering. Certainly Marx never even dreamed his words could be given such a generous interpretation, but this was the only way to give them a positive interpretation. Marx's statements had been well-known and accepted particularly in Lassalleian circles in the past, thanks to the antisemitic propaganda of their journal's editor, Wilhelm Hasselmann.²⁴

The impressive success of Bebel's speech was expressed in the unanimous acceptance of his short resolution. He was aided by his intimate knowledge of the German arena, which he described in vivid colors. The speech included not only the animosity toward the Prussian junkers so emphasized by Engels, not only his sympathy for the peasants and the lower middle class, who did indeed suffer because of the Jews who served as tools for exploitation by the regime — above all it was a condemnation of the "Aryan"

students who wished to be protected from the competition of Jewish students, who were more studious and intelligent than they were. Here he touched on the raw nerve of German antisemitism, which was not only a residue of medieval relations, and thus of lesser importance, but was also the fruit of modern society, and therefore allured academics and bureaucrats. Bebel defined the uniqueness of modern antisemitism and in doing so he expressed the fears felt by Jewish academics and socialists, in Germany and the Pale, whose numbers had increased significantly over the last years among those formulating the party's theoretical line.

In the Berlin congress's resolution against antisemitism,²⁵ the party did more than bar antisemitism from penetrating its ranks in Germany alone; thanks to its (informal) position of hegemony among its sister parties, the German party thwarted from the outset any prospect of an open acceptance of antisemitism as one of the planks in any socialist party's platform throughout the world. It had been clearly stated that no separate struggle should be waged against exploitation by Jewish capital, rather, all capital should be fought against.

"Social Democracy struggles against antisemitism because it is a movement directed against the natural development of society. Despite this, it acts unwittingly to strengthen the revolutionary tendency, since the classes of the petty bourgeoisie and small peasants, incited against Jewish capital, necessarily recognize that not only the Jewish capitalist, but the class of capitalists as a whole, is their enemy, and that only the realization of socialism will liberate the oppressed".²⁶

It is doubtful whether that resolution would have been accepted unanimously if it were not for its concluding section, which expressed the consensus of feeling regarding antisemitism in all workers' parties in all countries — namely, that antisemitism was a factor which conditioned the masses for revolution. This feeling was shared by many Jews of socialist tendencies, as indicated also in Engel's letter to Ehrenfreund from Vienna, in response to the latter's claim that antisemitism should be used as an instrument. After reading Engel's letter, Bebel undoubtedly also recognized that the thesis regarding the revolutionary potential of antisemitism was groundless, yet he was aware that this notion was popular among many party members, and therefore he acted according to the principle of accommodation. He was successful in effectively banishing antisemitism, both in its explicit form and as a secret undercurrent, but in the process had tacitly made his peace with the thesis of the revolutionary potential of antisemitism. Had he

lived until after World War I, he would have undoubtedly pondered anew the dangers inherent in that thesis.

The socialist party was the first in Germany to take a clear position against political antisemitism, and this merit should not be forgotten. As a result of the party's adherence to this decision over the years, it was able to convince numerous Jews to cast their vote for the socialist party, even though it did not conform with their class interest. If the Jewish problem had consisted solely of antisemitism, that decision would have been a milestone, even if not the last word on the matter. A milestone, because it happened in a time in which the antisemitic parties had gained twelve seats in the Reichstag, and thus became an electoral power and a genuine rival. Not the last and final word, since although the antisemitic parties collapsed eventually, antisemitism was assimilated throughout society, especially among the academic sector, with the familiar results.

Antisemitism is an important component of the Jewish Question, but not the only one: even its own essence is not completely encompassed by that resolution, because it did not view antisemitism against the background of the entire Jewish question.

The weakness of this fragmentary perspective of the Jewish question and of antisemitism were revealed when Franz Mehring became in 1891 one of the leading figures in the *Neue Zeit*, the theoretical mouthpiece of the socialist party. Over a long period of time, he wrote the lead article for each weekly issue. The articles generally responded to events of the day from an historical perspective. This journalistic endeavor was the application of historical materialism to history in the making, politics with a look to the future. This also appears to have been the intention of the method's authors, Marx and Engels. Prussia, which had become the focus of the German Reich, stood at the center of Mehring's perspective. Mehring knew both, and hated both. He presented himself to his readers in the historical essay "Die Lessinglegende",²⁷ a myth which he developed in detail in dozens of articles dealing with the issues of the time. His intention was not to discuss a "myth" surrounding Lessing, but rather the myth of Prussia, which had created the new Germany. Mehring achieved this after much inner conflict, since during the entire time the law against socialism was in effect (1879–1891) he moved in the democratic-liberal camp while plagued by a growing disgust with its barrenness and timidity.

As one who had come from a Prussian protestant family, there is no doubt that the Prussian ethos in his case included an aversion toward the occupational pursuits of the Jews. When he passed over

to the Marxist camp, he transferred that disgust to the bourgeois-liberal circles, like Lassalle before him, whom he admired in his Marxist period too. An attitude of aversion was now formed for Jews as a rising class in the bourgeois-liberal camp. This mood also developed in the socialist camp due to Lassalle's agitation, and continued on in ADAV, forming the attitudes of hundreds of workers who were influenced by Lassallean and other literature. This was not the "Jew-hatred" of earlier times, nor was it modern antisemitism; yet it could develop into a powerful factor in the relations between the workers and the Jewish community.

Mehring respected Engel's letter and the decision of the 1892 Berlin party conference. He was not an antisemite who argued that all the troubles of the masses were caused by the Jews, but he did believe in the special influence of the Jewish bourgeoisie on the formation of society. This led to a dilemma, and he found a way out: Mehring juxtaposed philosemitism and antisemitism, and argued that both were enemies of the socialist's class consciousness.²⁸

The nature of antisemitism was clear; that of philosemitism was problematic. True, there were some staunch allies of the Jewish community, motivated largely by religion and humanism, but there was never any *movement of sympathy for Jews* parallel to antisemitism. It is true that parties and factions hesitantly agreed from time to time to deliberate with influential Jews on the possibility of support (or removal) of candidates for elective office, and certainly they received money or favours, but any identification of that sort of "philosemitism" with Jewish capitalism was a mere mental construction, non-existent in reality. Yet it did have an historical role to play: by linking the notions of "antisemitism" and "philosemitism", it was possible to obscure numerous phenomena in many countries, which a normal person would have regarded as antisemitic. Expressions such as "no antisemitic agitation, and no Jewish government", or "oppose court-Jews like Bleichroeder and court-clergy (Hofpfaffen) like Stoecker"²⁹ served as a convenient screen behind which to conceal anti-Jewish feelings that could no longer be allowed to appear in their true guise. The expression "no Jewish government" was legitimized as opposition to philosemitism, and its historical task continued even after the decline of the antisemitic parties. Stoecker's influence persisted even after Bleichroeder had become someone known only to a few professionals in the stock market.

As to the shortcomings in the historical grasp of a man certain of his ability to explain everything with the aid of Marx's method:

Mehring assisted in the publication of Marx's *Judenfrage* in 1896 by the Polish party (PPS), and wrote a preface,³⁰ in which he emphasized that Marx had no part in antisemitism and even advocated granting Jews equal rights. But Mehring did not understand that the Polish workers would read Marx's words through the antisemitic spectacles which the Polish clergy had prepared for them? Did he really have no inkling that Marx's words might have a much more negative impact in Poland than in Germany, whose clergy only preached antisemitism in an incidental fashion?

In 1902, Mehring published the first volume of the works of Marx, Engels and Lassalle; the volume contained a reprint of young Marx's articles on the *Judenfrage*.³¹ This reprint was in itself justified, since the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* in which the essays first appeared had become rare the very same year they were published, having been confiscated immediately by the secret police. Nevertheless Mehring felt uncomfortable, since the time of publication coincided with a stormy period in Eastern Europe, when antisemitism was on the rise. A few weeks after the book appeared, the Kishinev pogroms took place, shocking the entire world. He wrote that it was worthwhile to publish a critical analysis of the essay in a time when "superficial antisemitism" (*der seichte antisemitismus*) was locked in a battle with philosemitism over the crown of distortion. Thus, he had certain qualms, but his scholarly conscience was at rest. Science had no need to flinch before two "superficial" movements.

These two concepts accomplished their purpose: antisemitism hid behind philosemitism; one could identify with a denunciation of Jews enunciated many years ago; one could forego any explanation of the circumstances in which Marx wrote what he did. In his preface to the article, Mehring wrote: "The murderous role played by Jewish usury in the toppling of the feudal order aroused infinite hatred toward Judaism". This is a statement that any supporter of the rioters in Russia would have been proud of.

Mehring goes on to characterize the language of the Jews as a Jewish-German jargon, a disgusting mixture of inferior German, Hebrew, Slavic tongues and other languages. Here again, we find guidance for the advocates of the antisemitic riots.

And what does Mehring write to balance his accusation that philosemitism and antisemitism are equally harmful? "Since [the time of young Marx] we daily witness the phenomenon of the transformation of our Jewish friends, whom we admired only yesterday as the bold supporters of bourgeois democracy, into

fanatic reactionaries, as soon as some specific Jewish interest is affected as the result of some legal statute”.

The asymmetry of antisemitism and philosemitism needs no comment when viewed against the background of the Kishinev pogrom.

Shortly after the publication of this new edition of Marx's essays, Karl Kautsky published an essay which had a strong repercussion, due to its subject: “Das Massaker von Kischeneff und die Judenfrage”.³² It is of interest to us here due to the link between the concepts of philosemitism and antisemitism with which Kautsky opens his essay. He notes that antisemitism is a complex phenomenon, but that “liberal philosemitism” is even more mystical, since it regards antisemitism as a mere product of popular dementia (Volkswahnsinn). Thus, antisemitism has social roots, even if these are revealed in distorted fashion, but philosemitism distorts the quality of antisemitism because it fails to see its rational aspect.

This fundamental thesis dictates the rest of the essay's argument: the riotous masses will learn from the proletariat to understand their distress, and will engage in a rational class struggle. In the meantime, until the antisemites learn class struggle, one must tolerate hatred of philosemitism, which appears to the untrained eye like antisemitism, among the ranks of the proletariat — though, of course, one must not tolerate antisemitism itself.

Briefly then, Jews can rely on the absolute opposition of all Marxists — from Marx till Mehring and Kautsky — to any attempt to curtail or abolish the legal equality of rights wherever Jews have achieved this goal. But Marxists cannot be counted on when it comes to any other aspect of the Jewish question, be it in the East or the West of Europe.

The opposition to antisemitism was a possible opening for Marxists to develop creative thinking regarding the Jewish question, but the artificial fostering of animosity toward a mythical “philosemitism” which never appeared in concrete form in any broad or narrow movement, thwarted any such prospect right from the start. Marxism remained barren regarding the development of a theory about the Jewish question, and ultimately brought to despair those Zionists who also wished to be Marxists.

IV

Kautsky wrote his “Das Massaker von Kischeneff und die Judenfrage” here discussed not as a spontaneous protest against the

outrages, but in response to a request by the periodical *Przegląd Socialdemokratyczny*,³⁴ which termed itself "the organ of social-democracy in Poland, Russia and Lithuania"; he was asked to present his view on the importance of the Kishinev massacre. They turned to him as a person authorized to express "party" opinion, and as such he responded. Two matters require further comment: the name of the journal and the identity of its leader.

The subtitle of the journal states, that unlike all other Polish journals, it does not support Polish independence, since "Russian Poland" and "Lithuania" are here administrative units of the Russian state, and not national territories.³⁵ The party behind this periodical was the party of a small minority among the Poles, whose importance lay in its intellectual leaders, all extremely assimilated Jews. The name of Rosa Luxemburg, the party's leader, says it all. For them, the Kishinev massacre was evidence of the coming of the all-Russian revolution, which would transform Russia from a centralized czardom to a centralized republic. This republic would obviously emancipate the Jews together with all the other oppressed: this was precisely Kautsky's notion, who was pleased to publish it in an authoritative form.

Kautsky had gained the position of an authority by dint of his many years as editor of the periodical *Neue Zeit*, which he had founded with Engels' active help in 1883, the year of Marx's death. Engels also entrusted Kautsky with completion of *Das Kapital*, which had not been finished. This task established his credentials as the leader of Marxist theoreticians.

The *Neue Zeit* brought together party theoreticians who were all close to Engels, had published and updated the writings of Marx and Engels and even attempted to continue their work using their method. Most were independent writers, except for Bebel, to whom the position of a party leader was only a partial source of livelihood. Though Kautsky lived in the provincial city of Stuttgart and not in the capital, Berlin, his authority was sufficient to warrant the triumph of his proposals for a new party programme after the cancellation of the *Sozialistengesetz* in 1891. The programme is known as the "Erfurt Program". It was the prototype for all other social-democratic programmes throughout the world, and enhanced the prestige of the German party and of Kautsky as its leading theoretician.

As chief theoretician, he was asked by Rosa Luxemburg's periodical to express his views on the Kishinev massacre and the Jewish question.

The beginning of the essay, which connects philosemitism in an

artificial manner with antisemitism, is not a promising start. Its cool and disinterested attitude toward the massacre, which in those days was an exceptional and astounding event, was a consistent consequence of his lack of concern for the Jews.

After a few sentences that explain the pogrom as a desperate act of declining social classes which see the Jews as their exploiters, he goes on to deal with the question he considers important, namely, whether exploitativeness is a natural "racial" feature of the Jews, or an acquired trait. In order to clarify the issue, he presents a short history of the Jewish people (it would be impossible to be any briefer!) concluding that this characteristic is an historical product. This is because the Jews are no longer a race, no longer have a territory, and therefore are not a nation. Thus, their role as exploiters must not necessarily continue in the future, since it is bound up with their existence as a nation. Among lower classes of the population, it is possible to understand a temporary mistaken perspective regarding the nature of the Jews. The lessons of class struggle and further education will open the eyes of these segments of the population. Yet this will happen only if the Jews do not separate themselves from non-Jews, thus frustrating the learning process. *For this reason, Zionism is a serious obstacle to any positive development.* What is required is not solidarity of all the Jewish classes, but rather solidarity between the exploited throughout the Russian state. This prescription is valid for all peoples, races and languages, it is advice for the Poles, the Ruthenians and the Lithuanians: salvation does not lie in separatism, but in assimilation with the Russian people.

According to this crucial essay, those who stand accused are the Jews. The Russian population is innocent, and the guilt lies only in the ruling class. The Jews are indirectly guilty, if not actually, then potentially so. Their separatism regarding the Russian people places upon them the responsibility for their tragic fate. They themselves will be responsible for any future pogroms, if indeed they are not already guilty for what has happened in the past and present. It is clear that in the future the Zionists will have their share in this guilt — but are not the millions of Jews fleeing from Russia, mostly to the United States, also responsible for the pogroms? Are they not trying to evade the class struggle? This was in any case the view of Rosa Luxemburg's party.

Kautsky had nothing to say regarding the concrete question of his day, the mass emigration of Jews, which was unmatched by any other ethnic group and was considerably felt in Germany too, nor had he anything to say on another question: whether the Jews are

entitled — or even obligated — to take up arms in their defense against the rioters. The Bund, the Jewish socialist party founded in 1897, called for this action (along with the Zionists). Was this a deviation from the obligation of solidarity with the oppressed strata of the Russian people? Was the Bund guilty of separatism? The essay remained silent about all these issues, because all such questions deviate from the ritual formulation of class struggle.

After young Marx's articles, this essay was the second statement on the Jewish question considered authoritative by the Marxist camp. The advantage of Marx's statement from the year 1844, despite all the shortcomings mentioned above, was that it emphatically supported Jewish rights in a liberal constitutional state, and thus expressed the view of numerous Jews, to whom legal emancipation had become the quintessence of all their aspirations. Kautsky's response contained only a further development of thoughts advanced by Marx in 1844, including the solution of the disappearance of Judaism by means of assimilation. He had no new suggestion, as indeed the development of the Jewish question since 1844 would have required, no response to the entry of impoverished masses of Jews into the sphere of modern life — Jews which Marx had not been familiar with at all. The questions of emigration and physical defense were not mentioned in his essay; the question of changes in the life of Jews in Western Europe as a result of the migration of Eastern Jews to the West was not within the scope of his thought.

Briefly, the barrenness of Kautsky's essay rivals his lack of emotional participation in the fate of the shocked Russian Jewry. Only Luxemburg's party had reason to be pleased, because Kautsky identified with their idea of the sanctity of the territorial unity of Russia as a guarantee for revolution in big parts of Europe. He also agreed that the hopes for self-determination of the Poles, Ukrainians and all other peoples, including the Jews, should be sacrificed to the paramount interest of the revolution.

The fact that the Jewish people had become a victim of a distorted description of its own past and present did not perturb Kautsky or Rosa Luxemburg's party.

When it first began to appear, the *Neue Zeit* had no reason to devote much attention to the problems of Judaism and the Jews, since Marx had pronounced the basic word many years before: the Jews should not be discriminated against, their past was not important, and in the future they were to disappear. This was a view shared by the liberals and Marxists, and Jews did not care to protest against it. The importance of Judaism lay principally in the

fact that it had been the source of Christianity, which was in the eyes of the liberals a pillar of our culture, while Marxists saw it as a basic tentative expression of a more cooperative and moral society. The workers' movement, which would be socialist and would come to power throughout the world, would assure the physical existence of the Jews in the future — Marx had proven this, and there was no need to expend any more words on the subject.

If, contrary to all expectations, antisemitism had shown itself to be not just a relic of the past, but rather a social current which capitalist society had spawned, it should be struggled against, though principally because it deflected the masses of workers from socialism.

The person on the staff of the *Neue Zeit* for whom the Jewish question was of a certain interest was Jakob Stern, formerly a student in a rabbinical college and at the time a class-conscious socialist,³⁶ who nonetheless was unwilling to neglect the Jewish question, as was customary among other Marxists. Another contributor to the periodical, Max Beer from England,³⁷ also felt it necessary to deal with the Jewish issue (in his later life he moved close to Zionism).

A change occurred in this atmosphere of indifference and silent acceptance of Marxist tradition, when Jews living in the "Pale of settlement" (in its broad sense) in the East — in Russia and Austria — arose, and attempted to orient the theoretical periodical of socialism in accordance with their views. Suddenly the quietist-theoretical publication became the arena of intellectual disputes, and Kautsky was swept along. The identity of the participants as Jews is not immediately noticeable, since the principle by which David Bronstein had become Leo Trotsky, was as old as the dispute about the nature of the Jewish question in the *Neue Zeit*.

The debate was not centered on the question of antisemitism and the pogroms, but rather on the significance of Jewish existence in the countries where Jews lived. It did not begin with the argument about Zionism, as might be assumed, but prior to this, with the advent of the movement "Hibbat Zion", a kind of proto-Zionism. Already in the 1892/93 volume of *Neue Zeit*, someone by the name of Ignatieff (also called Parvus, and originally Helphand) published an article stating that Russian Jewish workers should not pay any attention to Jewish nationalist propaganda.³⁸ Two years later, two Jews, one from Chernovitz and the other from Lvov, argue about the legitimacy of Jewish nationalism and its prospects. B. Emanuel (from Chernovitz) traces the motive for the sympathy felt by the Jewish intelligentsia for this Zionism to the distress of Jewish

youths who desire places in high schools and universities — something which Bukovina is not willing nor able to give them.³⁹ He mentions Moses Hess and Leo Pinsker, whose ideas had had an impact on students in Vienna, Prague and Berlin, who associated in growing groups. They were democrats and tended toward socialism in the economic sphere (here the editorial staff felt forced to add a question mark). Despite the support of Baron Hirsch and Baron Rothschild for these aspirations, it was impossible to deny "the high ethical content of Zionism". Hecker from Lvov, in contrast, denies the growth of the Zionist movement. Active Jewish workers are members in Polish trade unions, which are publishing for their sake a periodical in "Jewish jargon". The Jewish workers impede or break up Zionist meetings. Zionist leaders do not base themselves on a socialist platform: there are only "drawing-room socialists" in their midst. Those who lean toward socialism are high school students and young lawyers (meaning that they are not bonafide proletarians).⁴⁰

This fierce debate, not on a question essential to the German workers' movement such as the dispute between Lassalleans and Marxists, but rather regarding the Jewish question in an isolated corner of the Austrian empire, which interested hundreds of party members, thousands at best, was something new which would influence the image of the periodical. The Jews of Austria and Russia, who had begun this dispute on the Jewish question in this publication, continued as regular contributors in columns of their own, including people such as Helphand, Rjasanoff and Rosa Luxemburg.

The Jewish question and its importance in the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires became a regular topic and touchstone for the future of the socialist movements in those two states and even for international socialism, quite apart from the numerical importance of Jews in European and world population. With the appearance of the political Zionism of Herzl (1896-97), a difference is made visible between the old and new versions of this debate. The Western contributors to the paper headed by Jacob Stern (see above), rejected this Zionism, but were unperturbed and saw it as nothing more than the ambition of adventurous men looking for publicity, to whom antisemitism was only a convenient excuse in order to show Western politicians how to get rid of Jews from the East while appearing at the same time to be idealists. The style was scornful, but not venomous.

Eastern socialist Jews reacted differently; the style of one polemicist, Johann Pollak, is characteristic. He dealt with Zionism in his

lengthy essay "Political Zionism"⁴¹ after the First Zionist Congress in Basel (1897). He criticized the "distorted basic assumptions" of the "new" Zionism (in distinction to Hibat Zion): at the present Jews are no longer a people. If it was indeed possible to speak about a special Jewish suffering, its basis was not due to racist opposition, which assimilation in any event could not cure. The rule of the *Schlachta*, the petty gentry in Eastern countries, brought about the harm caused to the Jews, but Zionism failed to see this, as was evident from the speech by Max Nordau. The Jewish bourgeoisie and the proletariat — each for its own reasons — were indifferent toward Zionism. It was a movement of the petty bourgeoisie and impoverished intellectuals. Zionism was a transient phenomenon destined to disappear with the disappearance of antisemitism. "If it is more than that, then it is an attempt of a people that no longer exists, to strike a dignified pose on its way off the historical stage, and toward complete disappearance".

Max Zeterbaum from Lvov continued along the same lines, considering the Jewish question in terms of integration with Polish nationalism, likewise in a long article, titled "Probleme der jüdischen proletarischen Bewegung".⁴² He believed it possible in principle to conceive of a synthesis between socialism and Zionism, but not when Herzl intends this to mean a "business of liberation" (*Befreiungsgeschaeft*) instead of a liberation struggle (*Befreiungskampf*). The actual Zionist movement is flawed, since it adheres to a notion of class collaboration rather than class struggle. It concerns itself with the Dreyfus affair, but not with the liberation of the worker. The bondage of the worker will be upheld by law in the constitution of the future Jewish state. The world-view of Zionism is a "translation of antisemitism into the Jewish world" (*ins Juedische übersetzt*). Zionism cuts itself off from world culture and develops ties with Jewish religious tradition in general, and Hasidism in particular. In its meetings it does not even hold sessions on the Sabbath. Given this outlook, it would be better if workers attended lectures on Darwin on Saturdays. The Zionists rejoice when a state of emergency is declared after riots, as though the entire Polish nation were responsible for them. Polish Jews must support the national organization of the Austrian Socialist Party, which includes the Polish party as well, and they should also support ties between Polish workers and their Russian brethren. Jews are Poles insofar as they reside in the territory of the former Polish Kingdom. They are not a separate people, since they do not possess a separate language. "The jargon is only a poor substitute for a national language". Their language today is Polish. Jews have

a certain national sentiment based on their ethnic origin, but only time will tell whether that can also provide a basis for a national future. In the meantime, their fate is determined by the fact that they do not have a national language of their own.

The concluding section of the article is surprising, since it is in its entirety an attack against the Bund, the socialist organization which claimed to be the only one authorized to organize the Jewish proletariat for the class struggle in "Poland, Lithuania and Russia". Zeterbaum contends that the Bund supports the notion of an undivided Russia, including Russian Poland. Although the Bund makes use of Yiddish for its activities, objectively it leads to Russification, since Yiddish for the Bund is only a means of transition to Russian. Polish Jews should struggle for a united Poland, which will separate the Russian sections of Poland from Russia. They must conduct their revolutionary activities in the language of their future state, i.e., in Polish. Their temporary auxiliary language, Yiddish, must not be allowed to interfere with the transition to Polish: this is the language that will connect them with world culture. If their Jewish nationalism should be lost in this process of acculturation, that is no cause for regret. This has brought us back to Marx of 1844, for whom the liquidation of Judaism was a recognition of historical necessity.

The editorial staff of the *The Jewish Worker*, the organ of the Bund in Geneva, replied to the letter by Zeterbaum (instead of the leaders of the Bund — these were the conditions of underground activity). They stated that the Bund acted only in Yiddish, and if the workers of Lithuania (to which the Poles claimed sovereignty) preferred Russian, that was their business. The use of Russian or Polish is an individual concern. The Bund recognized only Russia as the field of battle in the class struggle, and it would rejoice if the workers of Polish Russia also joined the Russian party, as was the practice of the Bund (though it would separate from it in the very near future!). There was a free debate within the Bund on the future of Poland, and it had no official position on this matter. As long as the Polish party refused to recognize the right of Jewish workers to their own organization, no understanding was possible between the Bund and that party.

For the Polish party, the PPS, the question of Poland's borders was not open for free debate: these borders had been determined by the history previous to Poland's partition, and in this area there was room only for a Polish party, which could avail itself, for tactical reasons, of secondary languages such as Yiddish. There should be one Polish language in Lvov, Cracow, Vilna, Bialistok

and Homel. What the Ruthenians in Lwow, the Lithuanians in Vilna, or the White Russians in Homel might say to this, was of no interest to the patriots of the Polish party; yet it was of great interest to the many Jews who resided in those areas.

Zeterbaum soon renounced his effort to determine the fate of the Jews in the areas which he considered Polish, and turned to the long-term goal of mediating between the national Polish language and the world culture. He became a regular contributor to the *Neue Zeit* and an expert on matters of philosophy, culture and society.

Kautsky's position regarding the conflicting claims of Polish, Russian and Yiddish were of no interest to the few members who were concerned with issues beyond immediate, daily problems. One may assume that he himself was confused by the complications involved, to which must be added the problems in more developed areas — first of all in Czechoslovakia, traditionally called "Bohemia" by the Germans, where Kautsky and all the Jewish leaders of the Austrian Social-Democrats had been born. The Czechs demanded not only linguistic rights, but also strove for national independence. This included the workers, who acted along similar lines to those of the Poles in Galicia, only with greater vehemence and success.

Two years after Zeterbaum, Kautsky took a firm stand against the autonomous tendencies which he termed separatist, in an article already mentioned about the massacre in Kishinev: Austro-Hungary and Russia should remain intact, since socialism requires large economic units; for them internationalism would consist of cooperation between these units, once they become democratic states; the workers' parties are responsible for achieving this cooperation, which will be possible only if these countries maintain their territorial unity and centralization. They can allow for certain autonomy within the party, but any separatism is a crime. The Bund, which is part of Russian social-democracy, is on the right track, the PPS is not, since the Polish party is a separatist one; the Czechs imitate their Slavic sister and follow a dangerously separatist course. Within this conceptual framework, and considering Eastern Europe's conditions, the Bund acquired the status of an exemplary party.

A sudden change occurred in this attitude, which turned any autonomy into a mere technical device (e.g. the right to conduct socialist propaganda among Jews, who know no other language), due to the creation of a Zionist working class movement. This movement claimed that it wished to join the class struggle, but found it impossible since the conditions of Jewish life, without an

independent territory, frustrated their intentions, or in their words, without a territory there can be no basis for the class struggle. In 1903 they turned to the International with this ideological platform, asking for recognition as a world federation, unrestricted to any one country. Their request was denied after heated argument within the International, but the mere existence of such a discussion indicated the complexity of the issue: Zionism, rejected as a utopist fantasy already in Herzl's time, had revived under a new guise, and this time within the socialist camp. The battle against Zionism suddenly became relevant. In 1906 the Bund launched an attack against this new form of Zionism, which also had socialist pretensions. This attack never ceased. The "Poale-Zion" party, which was tiny in 1903, numbering several hundreds of members (which should however be assessed by the standard of underground movements), grew over the years — among other reasons because of the Russian revolution of 1905. Yet there was absolutely no logical proportion between its importance as a party and the attention it received in the periodicals. And why? Obviously because the claim that class struggle is ineffective so long as the territorial question remains unsolved, turned the entire traditional concept of the class struggle into a problematic one. Suddenly a new light was shed on the separatism of the Poles, the Czechs, and a host of other nations (the Armenians, the Kurds, the nations of Asian Russia). Socialist Zionism became the prototype of the separatist trend, and it was therefore the duty of an ideological publication like the *Neue Zeit* to prove that any form of Jewish nationalism was impossible: when they spoke of Zionism, they were indirectly addressing the separatism of national movements. Until the outbreak of the World War in 1914, Kautsky published two tracts (*Ergänzungshefte zur Neuen Zeit*) against the idea of Jewish nationalism and Zionism. This should be seen as a sign that he considered the tiny Zionist movement a real menace.⁴³

In 1906, Bund member A.L. wrote an article titled "Der Poale-Zionismus. Eine Neue Stroemung im russischen Judentum", in which he attacked the attempt to legitimize Zionism within the workers' movement by coupling it with socialism.⁴⁴ Poale-Zion based their thesis on the assumption that in the conditions of the diaspora no class struggle could be fruitful, since Jewish artisans are not accepted in factories because of the hostility of workers who do have a territory, and thus they are forced to emigrate: only a territory of their own shall put an end to these migrations. A.L. saw a deep flaw in the Poale-Zion's position, namely that they recognize as proletarians only those who work in factories, unlike the

Bund which considers that under the conditions of an economy as backward as Russia's, wage-earning artisans are full fledged proletarians. In contrast to the different factions of the Poale-Zion, which point at the fact of Jewish migration as a proof for the Jewish workers' inability to conduct a fruitful class struggle in the diaspora, the Bund affirms that the reason for Jewish migration is Russia's regime, and with its destruction migration will stop. Capital is international, and it must be fought against wherever one lives. A party which bases itself upon migration is not social-democratic, and the Poale-Zion carry this name in vain. The use of terms such as "proletarianization", "class interest" and "social political forces" are only meant to cover up "the old, rotten, mildewed political Zionism".⁴⁵ B. Rosin (who, writing from Geneva, could use his full name), published in 1909 a detailed article in a similar vein, titled "Die zionistisch-sozialistische Utopie". He claimed that socialist Zionism is only an appendage to bourgeois Zionism, and merely spreads confusion among the Jewish proletariat.⁴⁶ This had been the Bund's position already in 1903, when, together with the all-Russian party, it opposed the Poale-Zion's participation in the International. During the next year, 1910, Wladimir Medem published two articles, and an additional one was published by another writer.⁴⁷ A real writing frenzy.

The proliferation of publications within the International against the appearance of a party as small as the Poale-Zion (which was furthermore divided into three factions — the territorialist, the autonomist and the Palestinian), calls for attention. The importance of the entire Zionist issue, and particularly the socialist Zionism, as an expression of Marxism is apparent when we note that Kautsky published in 1908 and 1914 the above mentioned studies — which were too long for the "Neue Zeit" and where therefore published as special supplements — in which he dealt with the issue of Zionism and internationalism ("Nationalität und Internationalität", "Rasse und Judentum"). Zionism, whether large or small, challenges Marxism's pretension to be a total solution to all social problems, in other words, Zionism is a vivid refutation of the expectation that the persistent struggle of the proletariat will bring about the solution of all social issues, including the Jewish one.

If indeed this was the source of the hostility toward Zionism as a whole, the case of socialist Zionism posed an even more severe problem, since it challenged the very class struggle conducted by the workers, based upon their struggle within any capitalist state, as well as their eventual triumph. It required a deviation from this

territorial principle in favour of ethnic affiliation and a national-historical attachment. If the organizational principle of the Poale-Zion were accepted, the autonomy of all nations and peoples had to be recognized, and, if one were consistent about this, there would be no future for a unified party in Germany, Austria or Russia.

In 1912 Kautsky first dealt with this national-organizational problem, in an article whose content is clearly indicated by its title: "Separatismus, Nationalität und Sozialismus":⁴⁸ centralized unity is a supreme organizational value within the workers' movement; autonomy is only possible within the framework of a unified party, anything else being separatism, which destroys the unity of the class struggle. Clearly, socialist Zionism is an extreme case of separatism. This foe has one advantage, namely the weakness of his arguments: what socialist would fail to understand that a people with no territory and no language has no future? It was for this reason that Kautsky was only too happy to deal with the Jews; discussion with the Poles and the Czechs was more difficult, and in any case more dangerous for the party.

The years 1907-8 were years of great constitutional changes within the Habsburg monarchy, and the Poles and Czechs were quick to use them to their best advantage. This also increased their demands upon the workers' movement, which was led exclusively by Germans. Agitation made itself felt within the workers' party, and its press was full of suggestions to adapt the party structure to the existing separatist attitude. This trend was led by assimilated Jews of Czech origin (one-time Bohemians), among which Otto Bauer became the most famous. The *Neue Zeit* reflected this debate, and Kautsky, himself of Bohemian origins, took part in it. It was agreed that the party's unity required autonomy for each nation within the framework of a unified party, based on territory and on language, but it was emphasized that this did not include the Jews, who had no control over any territory, and whose tongue was an inferior jargon, not a real language.

We have returned to the year 1844: the Jews ought to learn the languages of those cultural peoples in whose midst they live, and their national uniqueness is of no meaning; their future is assimilation and oblivion.

Kautsky formulated the theoretical basis for these thoughts in his research "Rasse und Judentum", which can be considered Marxist only if one adds Darwinism as a necessary supplement to Marxism, which is a dubious position. In any case, Kautsky proves that there is no Jewish race and that no Jewish nationalism can be founded on

it. His final conclusion is the same old one, that Judaism's triumph lies in its disappearance, and that this will be no tragedy. Marx said this one hundred years before him, and his formulation was more impressive. The value of Kautsky's work lies in the fact that he expressed a consensus shared by all socialist parties which defined themselves as Marxist, and were united in their hostility towards Zionism — both because of its essential conflict with Marxism and because it was a living example of the fact that a social movement which denied Marxism could exist without disappearing; the hostility towards the Zionist workers' movement was especially fierce because it proved that contradictions exist even within the international workers' movement.

V

The *Neue Zeit* was privately owned and published in a provincial town, but was, according to the decision of the German socialist party, its organ of socialist theory. Historians have often dealt with this weekly publication, when wishing to portray the cultural climate of social-democracy before the catastrophe of the outbreak of World War I. Others, in contrast, have stressed the low number of copies in its editions (3000),⁴⁹ which was surpassed not only by other periodicals but even by regional party publications. It is true that its range of influence is one of the many myths which adorn the rise of social-democracy, starting with the heroic resistance of the prisoners of the communist league in 1852 and ending with the heroic position of the entire party under the law against socialism. However, the impact of the newspaper cannot be measured by the size of its editions: few "rank and file" members subscribed to, or read it, but it was kept by all the editorial boards of the party press, and every contributor to a party organ based himself on articles which appeared in the *Neue Zeit*. The periodical was a silent partner in any party debate.⁵⁰ In this respect it differs from the other theoretical publication which is often mentioned in contrast: *Sozialistische Monatshefte* was also privately owned, but whose editor Joseph Bloch did not enjoy Kautsky's status as a "party pope" on every theoretical question. Kautsky behaved as though he were the party's incarnation; Bloch as a private person and party member — as the representative of a minority view.⁵¹ The *Monatshefte* adopted Bernstein's position, known as "revisionism", condemned in a party congress as the view of a negligible minority.⁵² The opposing positions of both publications involve theoretical and

practical issues, and are not of our present concern; we wish to deal with their different attitudes to the question of the Jews and Zionism.

Kautsky's position on the Jewish question is a variation of Marx's position, starting with the status of Jews in past and present economy and ending with their future, which is disappearance by assimilation; his view regarding nationalism and Zionism continues the argument traced by Marx: nationalism with no independent language is pointless, because the Jews use, in as much as it is possible, the language of the countries in which they live, and in the future this use shall be general and total. Furthermore, Zionism pretends to create an "Am-Olam" (nation of the world) that does not recognize territorial boundaries, which constitute the natural framework for the class struggle; socialist Zionism has another negative ideology which conflicts with class struggle, since it claims that there are preconditions for the class struggle which are not related to the development of the forces of production, and these dictate the conditions for this struggle as well as its prospects. According to this view,⁵³ all nations need an independent territory, upon which they will create the conditions for class struggle. This means that the Jews not only want to return to Zion (or any other territory), but also encourage all national minorities to follow suit in their demand for independence. National separatism is the danger that menaces the cooperation between the large nations, which is the real internationalism.⁵⁴

Kautsky did not posit a counter-thesis to the thesis of Zionism. Rather, he called for a battle against Zionism in order to avoid the dissolution of class struggle.

Bloch's position (and with him, the *Monatshefte* position) was different: he followed the developments within the Jewish community with a critical attitude, but recognized, thereby following Engels' letter to him,⁵⁵ that ideas are not simple functions of the economic basis, and also have an independent existence.

The periodical reported about all aspects of Jewish life, but focussed on two main points — the struggle of Eastern-European Jewry for existence (material as well as cultural), and the Jewish attempts to settle in Palestine. This interest existed since the foundation of the periodical, and reached its climax in 1916–18.⁵⁶ One may assume that its position was also related to the German interests on the Russian as well as the Turkish frontiers, since there was no hesitation to support the war and its aims.⁵⁷ The Russian frontier drew its attention to the German policy towards the Jewish population there, which was meant to be an important component

in the population of the satellite states Germany planned to create there; Palestine was a part of the Turkish empire which was defending itself against the English conquest with German aid, and the Jewish colonies could become a supportive basis for German activity in that area. At this point it is necessary to ask whether these considerations, which were quite real, sufficiently account for the periodical's position, and whether its interest in the Jewish question was limited to these issues. The answer is absolutely negative. The constant interest of the periodical in these problems, even after the German aims were given up following the defeat in war, will be of use in assessing this question.

The *Monatshefte* persevered in treating the subject of the Jewish problem, not only from the point of view of legal emancipation, but also with respect to the value of Jewish nationality for human civilization and the creation of a future society, the first in the diaspora, the latter in Palestine.

This attitude has a Jewish counterpart in the periodical *Der Jude*, a monthly publication founded during the war by Martin Buber: the position of both publications regarding the value of Jewish nationality are similar not only in content, but even in the partial identity of the list of contributors: a warm attitude toward the Jewish masses, love of their folklore, reports about literary creativity, an affection for religion on the one hand and the social and agricultural ventures in Palestine on the other — all these are typical of both publications (with different emphases, of course, according to their different readerships).⁵⁸

The *Monatshefte* was of historical importance in that it gave support to the Poale-Zion movement, whose leaders were condemned to silence in the international polity, as well as a chance to express its opinions. Let us recall that the Bund was supported by the *Neue Zeit* as the sole representative of the Jewish proletariat, and thus had unlimited chances to attack and discredit the Poale-Zion. Borokhov, the prominent leader of the Poale-Zion, was never mentioned in the *Neue Zeit* as a thinker dedicated to the Jewish and general national doctrine. He was mentioned in the *Monatshefte*, as was indeed the entire gamut of socialist national-Jewish thought. The periodical gave the appropriate recognition to the three giants of Yiddish literature, Mendele Mocher S'farim, Shalom Aleichem and Peretz, who all died in 1917.

In contrast to the *Neue Zeit*, which considered any phenomenon only in the light of its contribution to the workers' organization or to its ideology, that is, to the class struggle, the *Monatshefte* devoted ample space to the aspiration of small nations to exist, and to their

cultures. Revisionism regarded socialism as a cultural and social movement, and therefore wished to maintain links with those writers, philosophers, economists and politicians, who claimed to contribute to the enrichment of the ruling, "narrow" formulation of socialism. This attitude has a positive potential, but also pitfalls which cannot be listed here; in any case the picture of socialism is not complete without it, since it is not only the history of a liberation movement, but also that of a movement which denied any attempt to obscure this character. In Germany this struggle was expressed in the dissociation from Eugen Duehring, Adolf Stoecker and others.⁵⁹

The periodical charged with promoting socialist theory, the *Neue Zeit*, now displayed an attitude which was opposed to this liberating character of the movement in the field of national liberation. The periodical's position may be summarized as being supportive toward the liberation of the large nations only, and in favour of the assimilation of smaller ones, the Jewish nation being paradigmatic.⁶⁰ The *Monatshefte*, however, considered itself an advocate of these smaller nations, including the Jews. This position was linked with its general political outlook, but the latter did not dictate its position, as was seen already in 1904, during the debate on the right of the Poale-Zion to join the International along with workers' movements from other countries whose national independence had been denied, such as the Letts, the Lithuanians, the Byelorussians and the Armenians. We are reminded of the stand against the small parties between the representatives of the larger ones, headed by Kautsky, Plekhanov and Luxemburg, who defended the countries against any possible separatism within them. Ladislaw Gumpelowicz attacked their position from the pages of the *Monatshefte* in a detailed article titled "Das Russische Regime in Litauen und der Internationale Kongress in Amsterdam".⁶¹ As a Pole, he surveys the historical territory of Lithuania which was once united with Poland, and defends the rights of all the peoples there — Lithuanians, Letts, Byelorussians and Jews to organize and to be accepted in the International, a right he demands also for his own party, the PPS (which he did not discuss in this article). The Lithuanians, whose membership in the International was rejected like that of the Poale-Zion, are to him the object of particular interest. They are Catholics under a fanatic pravoslavlic Russian rule, and are forbidden to address the authorities in their own language, or use the latin alphabeth: they feel an urgent need to organize in order to defend their national interests, yet the Russian party demands that they accept its hegemony. They, who number two million people,

were rejected, whereas the Luxembourgiens who hardly amount to a few hundred thousand, were accepted in the International. And wherefore? Actually, because they are an independent nation (no matter how this independence had been acquired). The Luxembourgiens are considered a viable nation; the Lithuanians are not. Neither are the Jews. The ongoing assimilation of these is stressed (as an indicator of their extinction), but their assimilation is only marginal: "There are in Lithuania Poles of Jewish origin and Russians of Jewish origin, but the great majority (am zahlreichen) are the Jews who are simply Jews".⁶² The word "Kishinev" describes their status and condition.

The PPS desires contacts with all the nations in the territory of Lithuania, without imposing on them the Polish language; Rosa Luxemburg's party and Plekhanov's Russian party cooperate in subduing these nations to Russian centralism and the Russian language, and the International contributed to this when it rejected the membership of parties which do not represent independent nations.

The Bund responded to a previous article by the same Gumpelowicz, which was written in a similar vein, and ascribed to the Bund the same Russification trend in Lithuania as to the parties of Plekhanov and Luxemburg. The answer was not, of course, written in the Bund's name, but in that of the legal publication abroad, *The Jewish Worker*. It stated that the Bund conducted its propaganda only in Yiddish and should not therefore be accused of Russification, a claim that could only be based on ignorance of the Bund's activities.⁶³

Was that really so?

The Bund did not declare support for Jewish nationality, rather, like the Russian party, it denounced any national movement within Judaism as "bourgeois", as indeed Gumpelowicz claimed in the above mentioned article. The use of Yiddish was accounted for as being merely instrumental, and would cease as soon as the Jewish proletarians had learned the national language. But which language?

When we remember the Bund's opposition to any separatism and any emigration from Russia — this can only mean that it considered Russification as an aim. True, within the Bund a warm attitude towards Yiddish had evolved, but that concerned the comrades, not the party. It is also true that when faced with the obvious nationalism of the Poles the Bund declared neutrality regarding the question of Polish independence; this was also defined as a private concern of the comrades, and not a party issue.

However, in light of the immediacy of this question within the Polish public, including the workers, this neutrality was justly interpreted as opposition to independence. As in the case of the language, the answer regarding Polish nationalism was an evasion: the firm pact with the Russian party and with Luxemburg's Polish minority party, which denied Poland's independence, clearly conveyed the message that the Bund was a pro-Russian party. The claim that it indirectly promoted Russification was therefore a convincing one. Therefore, the Bund's claim that the source of its tension with the PPS arose only from the latter's opposition to the independent organization of the Jewish proletariat on Polish territory, was quite weak, since the conflict ran deeper. The Bund piously followed the principles of Marxism as formulated in the *Neue Zeit*, and the PPS's position was close to revisionism, and perhaps even more extreme in its views than the western parties.

The agreement between the *Neue Zeit* Marxists, that any form of nationalist socialism is bourgeois, impelled the Poale-Zion party to seek the support of the revisionist publication, in spite of the fact that most of its members, especially in Russia, leaned toward the left. However, its adherence to Jewish nationality and to the need for a territory in order to implement it, were more important to the Poale-Zion than a theoretical platform, and the *Mononatshefte*, which was isolated within the socialist party, willingly lent the Poale-Zion an attentive ear.

Gumpelowicz's sympathy for Jewish nationalism was linked with his overall position regarding minority nations in the Russian border districts. Similarly general was Bernstein's position when discussing the tactics of the minorities regarding the Russian Revolution in the article "Fragen der Taktik in Russland", published in March 1906 in the *Monatshefte*.⁶⁴

Bernstein discussed the question of a workers' boycott of the Duma elections (a passive boycott by non-participation and an active one by sabotaging voting assemblies). Since the workers' power in Russia was concentrated in the western part of the country, where the Jews lived, it would be there that a momentous showdown would occur. Thus, the proper addressee for Bernstein's arguments is the Bund, the largest workers' party in the country. The Bund decided on an active boycott of the elections, which was the most extreme and dangerous form of boycott. The Bund's arguments, apart from its criticism of the restricted legal capacities of the future Duma, were its complaints against the liberals' cowardice in defending civic rights. Bernstein was of course opposed to the idea of a boycott, and he based his position on the

failure of the revolutionaries in Germany in 1849, when they assessed their power inaccurately and boycotted elections to the un-democratic Prussian parliament, but could not prevent the convening of the parliament and its debates. This was a great triumph for reaction, aided by the delirium and fervour of the revolutionaries, who miscalculated the limits of their power.⁶⁵

Bernstein warned the Bund from the results of its wrong tactics, that would first of all harm the Jewish proletariat, which suffers under the two-fold hatred of the regime against the proletariat and against the Jews.

The Bund's flaw is its adherence to doctrines, confusion of what is and what ought to be, and the search for totality: its responsibility towards the proletariat and its people demands that it restrain its revolutionary fervour.

The common aspect of the articles by Gumpelówicz and Bernstein, is the non-patronistic view of Jews, who are regarded as partners, meriting praise as well as criticism. This is a different tone from that of the *Neue Zeit*, which often considered Jews as a passive object, to be "dealt with".

VI

We have established the identity of the *Monatshefte*: a periodical which presented the socialist world with a profound understanding of Zionism in general, and the working class Zionism in particular — as an emancipatory movement of the Jewish people along two fronts of action, in the diaspora and in Palestine. It is now necessary to examine in greater detail whether there was an essential link between the comprehension of Jewish nationalism and the periodical's revisionist position.

When we note that the publication considered statal intervention in municipalities and social life as *state socialism* and *commune socialism* (Staatssozialismus, Kommunalsozialismus), subjects to which it devoted regular columns, one suspects that this is as remote from the version of socialism accepted by the workers' movement as the theories of Duehring and Stoecker. But when colonialism and imperialism are referred to as chances for socialist development, the association is no longer with Duehring and Stoecker, but rather with Friedrich Naumann and the *Hilfe* circle, who wanted to create a social, not socialist, movement.⁶⁶ The *Neue Zeit* Marxists decided that the few outright revisionists, headed by the *Monatshefte*, did not actually belong to the socialist camp; they ignored those who were revisionists secretly, in order to safeguard the image of an entirely

Marxist (and homogenous) camp, and showed this by placing the term "socialist" in the publication's name within inverted commas.

It is necessary to examine whether the *Monatshefte* was indeed similar to *Hilfe*, and thus only social, or indeed socialist. The criterion cannot be the compatibility of its socialism with the "real" Marx, but rather, if it had anything in common with all the trends whose socialism must be recognized, whose socialism was emancipatory. If the reply to this is positive, the question of agreement with Marx's intentions becomes subordinate to the question whether both versions of socialism are equally emancipatory. If we choose to apply the criterion of Jewish emancipation, we can say that emancipation was a declared and sincere aim for the Marxists, but we doubt whether their position actually furthered this emancipatory goal. The *Monatshefte* assessed the emancipatory meaning of its position regarding the Jews more often, which was thus better founded than that of the *Neue Zeit*.

Two articles by Eduard Bernstein, the formulator of the revisionist doctrine, both written in 1914, the year in which World War I started, will clarify this issue. The first article is titled "Der Schulstreit in Palestina", and deals with the behaviour of the Jewish community in its dispute with the philanthropic Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden;⁶⁷ the second, "Vom geschichtlichen Recht der Kleinen",⁶⁸ deals of course with the small countries, and refers especially to Belgium (without mentioning its name for obvious tactical reasons). Both articles share a socialist's desire to uphold human fairness as a criterion for socialism. The first adopts a critical stance toward the Jewish community in Palestine, which was organizing against his friend Paul Nathan, who worked for this voluntary society and was building a modern school system in that land. Teachers and pupils were striking in opposition to him, because he was unwilling to expand the use of Hebrew as language of instruction to technical and scientific subjects, for which, he thought, there were still no textbooks in Hebrew. The Zionists wished to monopolize education, and the youth was adopting violent means in order to destroy any resistance to the complete hegemony of the Hebrew language. Bernstein denounced the expressions of nationalism which he considered an instance of the world-wide surge of chauvinism, to which a socialist must be opposed.⁶⁹

Since his stay in London, his acquaintance with Eleanor Marx and the encounter with the proletariat of Jewish immigrants, Bernstein showed sympathy for Jews, though he did not personally become a Zionist. However, he abhorred and firmly denounced

what seemed to him the nationalistic fervour of the community in Palestine and its ingratitude towards a sincere sympathizer.

Bernstein did not perceive the tendency toward Germanization in Nathan's activity, which competed with the gallicizing activity of the Alliance Israelite Universelle. Conversely, he did not appreciate the fervent adherence of the Zionist community, and especially the young students, to the Hebrew language, whose status in that country was not yet secured at all; he was struck only by the expressions of fanaticism and violence, which could not be denied, nor could one ignore the prospects of violence as a part of life in Palestine. Bernstein's judgment is therefore not the final one in this affair, but his humane and emancipatory argument must be respected. This critical article should be seen as a "lover's wound", and its moral import contrasts with the indifferent article by Kautsky after the Kishinev pogrom. The difference is emphasized by the common point of departure of both writers, who were at first equally uninterested in the Jewish question.

The emancipatory character of the second article is clear when one considers the courage required in order to publish an article which indirectly attacked the German invasion in Belgium, but it is important also because of the very challenge to the thesis of the *Neue Zeit*, that Marxism upholds the preferability of the large-scale and centralized mode of production over the small factory, and, on another level, prefers the large and centralized state over the small one. This position found support in the Marx and Engels' evaluation of the small and "un-historical" countries in the 1848 revolution, and was still upheld by the *Neue Zeit*. Bernstein insists on the contribution of small countries to history and goes as far as to find advantages (only cultural, of course) even in the existence of the small states in Germany before its unification. The question is not only one of expedience, but also, as the title of the article suggests, a moral question, since it involves the right of small countries to exist.

The article obviously has implications for the Jewish right to an independent existence. It is the opinion of an individual at the beginning of the war; by the time it was over it was the consensus among all the nations when they redefined the European map according to principles found in Wilson's fourteen points, regarding the rights of nations to self-determination.

Germany's collapse in the fall of 1918 was the moment of truth for revisionism and its publication: was their support of little nations, their cultures and their opportunities for development only a tactic in service of the Germany's plans to surround itself with an

array of satellite states, or did they really identify with the oppressed nations' aspirations to self-determination, now that this sympathy coincided with the Entente countries' desire to establish world democracy based on the self-determination of the nations? If the sympathy for small nations, including the Jews, was only tactical, it would disappear after defeat, and make way for the cultivation of the desire for a political revision, that would eventually make it possible to renew the German imperial fantasies. If the policy of the *Monatshefte* was part of an emancipatory outlook, then it was only right for it to participate in the world-wide desire for democracy, represented by the allies. Two articles dealing with the Jewish question, which shall here represent all of the small nations, will clarify this issue.

One of them, titled "Judenfrage, Palaestina und Weltpolitik" was written by Max Rosenfeld,⁷⁰ the other, "Friedensforderungen des juedischen Volkes", by Julius Berger.⁷¹ Both writers were "Ostjuden" and members of the Poale-Zion. The articles base themselves on a world which is ruled by the outlook of the Entente powers regarding democracy and the self-determination of nations. The very publishing of these two important articles reflects the identification of the editors with this "Weltanschauung". According to Rosenfeld, the "world revolution" within which Jews will live has occurred; this revolution is not the one that has occurred in Russia, but rather the democratic revolution. For the Jews, the main document of this revolution is the Balfour declaration, which affirms the right of the Jewish people to settle in Palestine; the rights of Jews in the diaspora are determined by securing the rights of all national minorities, which the authors specify. Germany must adjust to this situation, since it has done less than the Entente powers to secure the democratic rights of the Jewish people.

This is in accord with the change in the main locus of the Jewish people's organization, which has shifted from the area of the axis powers to that of the Entente states. The view according to which the world is now ruled by the democratic principle also implies that the Jews will build their society on the basis of democracy and socialism, because this society will act free from the constraints of capitalistic society which burdened it in the diaspora.

One should conclude by mentioning that both articles allude to the Poale-Zion's desire to build a socialist society and socialist economy in Palestine. The key term is the concept coined by Bernstein during the first stages of the formulation of the revisionist idea, namely "constructive socialism".

VII

The area of dense Jewish settlement was divided after the war between the Soviet Union and a few other countries, whose geographical boundaries and democratic regimes were defined by the Entente powers: the boundaries were constant, with minor changes; the regimes collapsed, also with minor exceptions. For the Jewish national movement the conditions of development in the diaspora were not fulfilled according to the plans, and only the territorial concentration in Palestine was realized, on a small scale: the national movement in the diaspora was reduced to the assistance in the development of Palestine. This process was not planned by the Poale-Zion, but the party adjusted to it, and its branch in Palestine, which was marginal before the World War, became of cardinal importance. This was a new chapter in the history of the national movement, beyond the scope of the "first stage" with which this article deals.

The shift of arena occurred also within the socialist movement: after the national unification in 1871 the German socialist party gained ascendancy within the international workers' movement, and its political and social programme was the standard programme for organization and goal setting; its theoretical publication, the *Neue Zeit*, laid down the rule for sister parties, and was emulated by other publications. It excluded Zionism in general and the working class Zionism in particular from the domain of the acceptable, and deeply implanted Marx's affirmation that the Jews must be considered from the perspective of their historical disappearance. If a theoretical opposition had not arisen in the form of revisionism and its publication *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, any discussion of the Jewish national movement in a socialist forum would have been absolutely impossible.

The end of the World War marked the end of this hegemony of the German party, along with its view about the superior right of centralized workers' parties in large countries, as well as the adoption of the Erfurt plan (1891) as a theoretical guideline and the main road to the realization of socialism. The position of hegemony was since then claimed only by the Russian party after the triumph of the October Revolution, and it was expressed by the creation of the Communist International.

The Communist International (Comintern) interpreted the Marxist orthodoxy of the German party and its theoretical periodical in a new and strict manner. The idea of the centralization and

territoriality was inherited from the Germans, though in a much more extreme version. It also inherited the view of the *Neue Zeit* regarding the Jewish question and its interpretation as based on the article by the young Marx. The Comintern set the conditions of acceptance to its ranks in such a way that any organization that had the slightest tinge of Jewish nationalism was excluded from the outset.

The Comintern considered itself the heir of the theoretical platform of Marxism, and a considerable number of party members who adhered to Marxism joined it. As a result of this development revisionism could hold its own among those who remained, and its many secret supporters became declared revisionists. This was a chance for socialist Zionism to gain open support. The reservations of orthodox Marxists with respect to Zionism did not change, and in deference to them the parties hesitated to mollify their traditional hostile attitude.

With the breakdown of the hegemony of the German workers' party, and after the communist Marxists joined the Comintern, the proportion between Marxists and revisionists (and other socialist trends) changed. These socialists, led by the parties in England and the Commonwealth, laid higher value on their affinity with democracy than with Marxism. They reestablished the Socialist International — which had disintegrated during World War I — as a loose alliance which also tolerated Marxists in its midst, but did not dictate their doctrines nor certainly any other theoretical dogma. In order to join the Socialist International, adherence to democracy was required, this having become a main principle. The Palestine Zionist workers' movement, which had no chance for a rapprochement with the Comintern, felt more comfortable within this loose organization, which could agree with its special course of action as well as appreciate the cooperative efforts which accompanied its constructive endeavors in Palestine.

Thus, the decision to reject Jewish nationalism and Zionism, based on an elaboration of an article by the young Marx, was upheld in a consistent and extreme manner only by the communist movement. Any person who wanted to belong to the Marxist camp, even if he did not want to submit to party discipline (and there were many such people among the intellectuals), accepted as an appendage the denial of Zionism, especially if he was a Jew who wanted to trade his "white" assimilation for a "red" one. The large camp of those who followed the communists without becoming members of communist parties continued the anti-Zionist tradition of the *Neue Zeit*.

Ever since the resolution of the German social-democrats in 1893,⁷² all the socialists were united in their view of the Jewish question from a non-Jewish perspective, and this meant support of equal rights and opposition to antisemitism. Regarding the national-Zionist perspective, two main attitudes evolved before World War I — the hostile Marxist one and the friendly revisionist one. The power of these was unequal, because Marxism enjoyed a majority support in the party, since it fulfilled a necessary integrative role. As far as the Zionist movement was concerned, this meant that the only camp to turn to was revisionism. After the war matters became simpler, since Marxism had mostly been transformed into communism, and revisionism became the preferred ideology within the socialist camp, since its democratic stance fulfilled the desired integrative role.

NOTES

Frequent abbreviations of sources:

MEW = Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*

NZ = Neue Zeit Wochenschrift der deutschen Sozialdemokratie

SM = Sozialistische Monatshefte

LBYY = Leo Baeck, *Yearbook*

MEGA2 = Marx-Engels *Gesamtausgabe* 1975

1. For background material on Trier and the Marx family see Heinz Mons, *Grundlagen der Entwicklung zu Leben und Werk*, 1973; Lutz Graf Schwerin von Krosigk, *Jenny Marx. Liebe und Leid im Schatten von Karl Marx*; David McLellan, *Marx before Marxism*, 1976.
2. "The Jewish Problem" in Marx has been a favourite subject for research since the beginnings of the Jewish national movement, and has been extensively dealt with in A. Kuenzli, *Karl Marx, Eine Psychographie*, 1966, as well as Julius Carlebach, *Karl Marx and the Radical Critique of Judaism*, 1978. Taking into account the example of both sides of the Heinrich Marx family, which had a tradition of Biblical scholarship, and most of whose members converted, one should consider whether the intellectual study of the Bible did not actually facilitate the transition to the study of gentile culture. In the case of Karl Marx this transition involved contempt for all aspects of the Jewish heritage.
3. The question of Marx's antisemitism is controversial. In his book *Western Socialism and the Jewish Question*, 1955, Edmund Silberner takes an extreme position supporting the thesis of his antisemitism. A more moderate stance is adopted by Helmut Hirsch, *Marx und Moses. Karl Marx zur "Judenfrage" und zu Juden*, 1890. If an antisemite is only a person who wishes to devalue the Jewish status legally or socially, then Marx was by no means an antisemite; if an antisemite is also a person who does not like Jews, there is call for debate, though even in this formulation the case is not clear cut, in spite of Marx's expressions of loathing towards many Jews who were his personal enemies.
4. When viewed as a whole, Marx's articles in the *Deutsch-Franzoesische Jahrbuecher* obviously express the beginning of his self-clarification regarding the role of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in social development; the title "Zur Judenfrage" misleads only those who consider these two articles as an expression of Marx's intention to deal with the Jewish problem itself. The

- articles require two analyses, one regarding their importance for the development of Marx's thought and the second dealing with Marx as a formulator of the doctrine on the Jewish question.
5. Moses Hess, who also served as one of the editors, reacted with sharp criticism to the Jewish bourgeoisie of the Rhineland. This is documented in his letters to the writers Bertold Auerbach and Ludwig Braunfels, who had been one of the founders of the journal. One finds the closest similarity to Marx's opinions in his article "Ueber das Geldwesen" which he intended to publish with Marx's aid, and which Marx probably saw before writing his own articles on the Jewish question.
 6. The gradual shift in the moneyed Jews' central position in Marx's thought was also felt in the other debates between Marx and Bauer in 1845-46. In 1848, with the birth of Marx the economist, the anti-Jewish argument disappeared completely and the concept of the industrial magnate appeared instead. To him Marx transferred all the expressions of hate and contempt which were previously directed toward the moneyed Jews. For the biographer it is interesting to note that Marx felt no need to revise his articles which dealt with money, instead of the expropriation of surplus value, as the source of social evil.
 7. *Sozialdemokrat*, (Zurich) June 30 and July 7 1881.
 8. Werner Blumenberg, "Eduard von Mueller-Telling, Verfasser des ersten antisemitischen Pamphlets gegen Marx", *Bulletin of the International Institute of Social History*, Amsterdam, vol. VI 1951 pp. 178-197. Telling, *Vorgeschmack in die kuenftige deutsche Diktatur von Marx und Engels*, Coeln 1850.
 9. MEW I, pp. 347-377. Aufsatz I, pp. 347-370, Aufsatz II pp. 371-377. Researchers who consider Marx an antisemite base themselves only on the second, shorter article, because of its caustic description of the Jews. One should note the different lengths of the articles, since they have a proportionately different importance for Marx's self-clarification.
 10. Otto Heller, *Der Untergang des Judentums*, Wien-Berlin 1931.
 11. It is usually thought that Otto Bauer was the theoretician of the national question — including the Jewish question — within the Marxist camp, and that he influenced Kautsky and others, because he applied the Marxist method to the problem of nationality, which had been notably absent from that method. I believe this is an erroneous view. Bauer makes frequent use of Marxist terminology, but the way he establishes nationality (on emotion, psychological attachment, patriotism etc.), is not Marxist. The only attempt which seems to me a Marxist one is that of Ber Borokhov, who bases himself only on social processes and class struggle (wanderings, emigration, relations between a ruling people and national minorities in the struggle for a workplace etc.). The problem which at that time (1907) preoccupied Bauer, as well as Karl Renner, Heinrich Braun and Karl Kautsky was the issue of Austria's unity and the struggle against the separatist tendencies of the national minorities, whose motives were not only material but also emotional, historical etc.
 12. David McLellan, *Marx Before Marxism*, 1970, deals with Marx until 1847. The foundations of Marx's articles in the *Deutsch-Franzoesische Jahrbuecher* are philosophical, but they already have a clearly social thrust. The first generation of Marxists only appreciated Marx the economist and sociologist, whom they discovered in "The Communist Manifesto". Later Marxists also stressed the importance of Marx before he became a Marxist according to the criteria of the first generation. This new evaluation also increased the importance of the articles on the Jewish question.
 13. Both Eleanor Marx and Paul Lafargue tried to find a "Jewish angle" (the mother's attitude towards Judaism, which brought about her late baptism, the hostile attitude of the "feudal" family of Karl's bride). But it should be

- emphasized that there is not the least mention in Marx's works or in the unpublished papers of a "Jewish angle".
14. In this context Engels' letters to Paul Lafargue should be noted, MEW 37 passim, esp. p. 122 ff.
 15. Edmund Silberner, "Eleanor Marx und die juedische Identitaet", *Jahrbuch des Instituts fuer deutsche Geschichte* VI, Tel-Aviv 1977 pp. 259-295. See bibliographical references there. The Jewish element is integrated in her biography by Yvonne Kapp, *Eleanor Marx*, vol. II, London 1972 passim.
 16. Feuilleton: Amy Levy, "Ruben Sachs. Ein Charakterbild aus der Juedischen Gesellschaft", NZ XII 1892. Silberner doubts whether the translation of the English original was done by Eleanor Marx (Tussy). Yvonne Kapp does not. The NZ would certainly refrain from publishing such a "bourgeois" novel if it had not come from such an important source.
 17. Yvonne Kapp mentions Tussy's Yiddish studies with certainty (as opposed to many researchers, including Silberner). Section 6 of the second volume of her biography has a wealth of information on Tussy's Jewish activity, so she seems reliable on this issue too (vol. II pp. 510-526).
 18. According to Max Beer Eleanor stated that in her house there was never any interest in London Jewry, because there was no interest in Jewish affairs as a whole. One should assume that this included the East-European immigrant proletariat. See Max Beer, *Fifty Years of International Socialism*, 1976, 73ff. Marx's indifferent attitude toward any Jewish matter did not change since his days as a student, and even phenomena that were new to him, such as the appearance of a Jewish proletariat, did not change this.
 19. Engels' indifference toward Jewish matters changed when a Jewish proletariat appeared in his vicinity. He did not have Marx's inhibitions, but the evident lack of interest of the Jews with whom he talked or corresponded did not encourage him to dwell on this issue. So Karl Hirsch, the one-time rabbinical candidate, who was close to Moses Hess in his latter years, but did not list "Rome and Jerusalem" in his necrology, nor did he mention Jewish matters in his periodical *Die Laterne*, nor apparently in his conversations with Eleanor Marx when he was courting her. Engels mentioned the Jewish origin of the communist Leo Frenkl, mocked his Jewish accent, but considered him a bona fide representative of the proletariat, in his case the Hungarian one, as he did with many Jews with whom he came in touch. He was always aware of their Jewishness, but saw them as representatives of the proletariat of their countries of origin. Only the Jewish leaders from the United States were considered by him as Jews. The gradual transition of Engels from expressions of contempt to the glorification of the Jewish proletariat and the understanding of the essence of antisemitism has been dealt with by Silberner in "Friedrich Engels and the Jews", *Jewish Social Studies*, 1949 vol. II pp. 323-343.
 20. MEW 22, Ueber den Antisemitismus, pp. 49-51, letter dated 3.21.1890.
 21. This was the Narodnaya Volia's tactic. Lafargue supported it in France, but it was rejected by the German socialist party's resolution against antisemitism, in 1893. The faith in the revolutionary populist potential was also suggested by Wilhelm Liebknecht, who was certainly remote from any antisemitic thought. See Paul W. Massing, *Rehearsal for Destruction*, "Antisemitism Viewed as an Immature Form of Rebellion", pp. 175 ff.
 22. August Bebel, *Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Engels*, 1965, p. 562, letter dated 7.9.1892.
 23. August Bebel, *Sozialdemokratie und Antisemitismus*, 1906. The speech was given in a party congress in Berlin (1892), but his final resolution was formulated in the party congress in Cologne in 1893.
 24. This was in upkeeping with the tradition of antisemitism in the Lassalleian party, which was mainly a weapon in the struggle against the rival party of

- Bebel and Liebknecht, that numbered many Jews. See the article by Arno Herzig, "The Role of Antisemitism in the early years of the German Workers' Movement", *LBVB* XXVI 1981, pp. 243–259.
25. The resolution which was accepted without any opposition, see Bebel, note 23, pp. 27–28. The final vote was held in this congress after a short introductory speech by Bebel. See Iring Fetscher, *Marxisten gegen Antisemitismus*, 1974, pp. 58–76.
 26. Bebel, note 23, p. 28.
 27. First published in *NZ* 1891–92, in 21 installments.
 28. The term "anti- and philosemitism" is basic in Mehring's writings and was later adopted by the socialist press. In 1891 Mehring published an article under the title "Anti- und Philosemitisches" (*NZ* IX/1, 7.2.1891). At that time he used the term philosemitism especially against the leftist liberal parties, which he had recently renounced: philosemitism is no better than antisemitism.
 29. The analogy between antisemitism and philosemitism also assumes the guise of a comparison between a Jewish banker and an antisemitic priest — Bleichroeder and Stoecker. Mehring, "Die Kehrseite der Medaille", *NZ* XIV/1 1896 pp. 97–101.
 30. The information was supplied by Mehring himself (who deliberately obscured his part in the publication) when he published the article by the young Marx as part of the "Nachlass" (an inexact expression since the article had been published during Marx's life). See *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lasalle*, 1902, I p. 492.
 31. Of course, the combination Marx-Engels-Lasalle irritated the Marxists no less than Bernstein's revisionism, and explains the undermining of Mehring's position, which ended with his removal from the *Neue Zeit* editorial board in 1914. The combination of these three names seemed a hidden criticism of Marx and Engels, who had led an all out war against Lasalle and Lasalleanism.
 32. "Das Massaker von Kischeneff und die Judenfrage" *NZ* XXI/2 1903. The very formulation of the subject establishes a link between the guilt of the rioters and the guilt of the Jews. No doubt, Kautsky saw such a connection. An analysis of the article confirms this thesis.
 33. In the beginning of his article Kautsky declared that the writing was not spontaneous, but at the request of the Polish periodical.
 34. This was the rival party of the immense majority PPS. It demanded that all Jews who lived within Poland's historical boundaries, including those who lived in lands which the Russians (and the neighbours) did not consider as Polish territory, join its ranks. This party supported Russia within its existing boundaries, but thought of it as a constitutional-democratic state in the future. The PPS considered it a treacherous party.
 35. When the Bund and the social-democratic party, under Rosa Luxemburg's leadership used the names "Poland" and "Lithuania" separately, they did not mean Lithuania as a part of historical Poland, but rather as a Russian territory. This was the source of the conflict with the PPS.
 36. Jacob Stern adhered to Spinoza's philosophy and was an exception within Marxist orthodoxy. His participation in the drafting of the Erfurt programme and his opposition to Bernstein's revisionism were held in his favour. The necrology in the *Neue Zeit*, written by Clara Zetkin, (*NZ* 29/2 1911, pp. 56–60) is a "bill of health" of sorts, or a testimony to the degree of tolerance even within the "orthodoxy" at that time. Stern's short sarcastic article, "Theodor Herzl, Der Judenstaat. Versuch einer modernen loesung der Judenfrage", *NZ* XV/1 1897 p. 186. For the English translation, under the title "The Marxist Appraisal of Zionism", see Paul W. Massing, *Rehearsal for Destruction* p. 321.

37. Max Beer is the only one of the contributors to the periodical who represented Jewish enlightened anti-religious opinions, which were not anti-nationalistic. During his participation in the *Neue Zeit* he wrote in keeping with the spirit of the communist Arbeiter-Bildungsverein of London, in which he, as well as many other immigrants from Eastern Europe, were active.
38. NZ XI/1 1893 pp. 175–179: “Russisch-juedische Arbeiter ueber die Judenfrage”, signed with the pseudonym J. Ignatieff. This man was later known as “Parvus”, but his original name was Helphand. He is the pioneer of the East-Europeans, whose influence in the *Neue Zeit* became noticeable noted over the years. The radical tenor of the views was equaled by the acerbity of the debate, which had started as a debate against Zionism and ended with the debate against deviations from pure Marxism.
39. “Ueber den Zionismus”, NZ XIII/2 1895 pp. 599 ff.
40. L. Haecker’s sharp reply to B. Emanuel, NZ XIII/2 1895 pp. 759–760.
41. NZ XVI/1 pp. 596–600, “Der Politische Zionismus”.
42. NZ XIV/1 pp. 324–330, 367–373 “Probleme der juedisch proletarischen Bewegung”.
43. *Nationalität und Internationalität*, 1908. This pamphlet reveals the points of agreement and contention with Otto Bauer’s book, and actually focuses on the nationalities problem in the Habsburg Empire: the essence of internationality is the maintenance of the Empire’s unity, when it will grant all the peoples some degree of autonomy. He agrees with Bauer that this autonomy shall not apply to Jews, who have no language, are not a race, and if indeed one must characterize them, are a caste.
- The second pamphlet, *Rasse und Judentum*, 1914, indicates in its title that it is the sequel to the first one: the Jews are not a race, and therefore nationalism in the form of Zionism is absurd. Kautsky did not hesitate to publish the pamphlet after the war’s outbreak (perhaps it would have been wiser to wait for the changes it would bring about); he also hastened to publish a second edition after the war, in spite of the Balfour declaration and the October Revolution in Russia.
44. NZ XXIV/1 1906, pp. 804–813. The writer signs AL, which Robert Wistrich takes to mean A. Lampert.
45. *Idem*, p. 813. This form of debate was accepted in Western Europe only in the inter-war period, and even then it was not shared by periodicals dedicated to theoretical issues.
46. B. Rosin, “Die Zionistisch sozialistische Utopie”, NZ XXVII/1 1909 pp. 29–34. The article expresses the Bund’s solidarity with the Russian party regarding refusal to allow for the representation of the Poale-Zion in the International, in spite of having separated itself from that party. The Russian S.D. considered the Bund’s demand for cultural autonomy as a form of disguised Zionism.
47. NZ XXVIII/2 1910, signed M. (i.e. Medem). A hostile review of the Zionist federation’s report on the riots in Russia, see pp. 90–91 and an article with theoretical pretensions, “Ein nationalistischer Vorschlag”, NZ XXIX/1 pp. 748–751. Medem approves of the Kautsky-Bauer position, that Jews have no right to self-determination. In “Ein nationalistischer Vorschlag” Medem explains the crux of the dispute with the Poale-Zion: its demand to create a world-federation and the lack of respect for territorial boundaries.
48. NZ XXX/1 1912, 520–532.
49. 2,500 subscriptions in 1890 (compared to 100,000 of the satirical publication *Der wahre Jacob* that same year. See D. Fricke, *Die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung 1869–1890*, 1964 pp. 234, 239. In 1905, the year of surging revolutionary sentiment, the number of subscriptions rose to 6,400, and the satirical publication’s to 193,000. See Rosemarie Leuschen-Seppel, *Sozialdemokratie und Antisemitismus im Kaiserreich*, 1978, pp. 274 f. note 239.

50. In the course of the debate about government subsidy for the ship-building industry (1884), on which the social-democratic faction in the parliament was divided because of a dispute about the promise of employment for workers, it appeared that revisionism's "real-politik" position was widespread not only within the parliamentary faction, but also among party members. However, the press unanimously upheld the S.D.'s duty not to vote in support of the government budget. The debate continued also with reference to the budgets of the various particular states. The press stance was always more homogeneously oppositionist than that of the faction and the members, due to the *Neue Zeit* which had established the fundamentalist motto. This was complemented by the press's silence regarding the position of the *Monatshefte*.
51. The *Monatshefte* is a continuation of the *Der Sozialistische Akademiker*, a monthly publication which impressed on it the tendency of adopting a minority position within the party, that had always stressed its proletarian class character. It is paradoxical that the Lassalleans, whom the Marxist's suspected of revisionist tendencies, felt particular suspicion toward a publication which had been originated by academics, this being due to their tradition of considering the intellectuals as class-enemies. On Joseph Bloch and the *Monatshefte* see the article by Charles Bloch, "Der Kampf Joseph Blochs und der 'Sozialistischen Monatshefte' in der Weimarer Republik", *Jahrbuch des Instituts fuer deutsche Geschichte* III Tel-Aviv, 1974 pp. 257-287 esp. 257-262.
52. The resolution against revisionism agreed upon by the Social-Democratic party's congress in Dresden (1903) is typical in its denunciation of revisionism in general terms (as favouring the acceptance of the existing social order), along with a similarly general self praise (the glorious and triumphant tactic based on class struggle). This was in keeping with the fundamentalist line adopted by the leadership under Kautsky's guidance, but there was no formulation of any response to the revisionists' claim that the predictions of Marx and the Marxists were contrary to the actual development of society and economy. The *Monatshefte* were dedicated to the presentation of this thesis. See *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, 1966, vol. II pp. 333ff.
53. For the theoretical basis of this thesis see Borokhov, *Works*, vol. I 1934, "The Class Struggle and the National Question", pp. 13-48.
54. This is the meaning of *Nationalität und Internationalität*, 1908, which dealt with the need to secure the large countries' territorial unity. In this respect the question of Austria was relevant in the light of Austro-Marxism's recommendation that its national groups be given *autonomy*, but not independence. Though he disputed some details, Kautsky agreed with them. Since it was inconvenient to declare war on the sister parties in Poland and the future Czechoslovakia, the Austro-Marxists and Kautsky attacked the Jews as though they were separatists who advocated the country's division.
55. MEW 37, pp. 462-465.
56. In the course of the war the range of the periodical's interest in the Jewish question expanded and came to include the entire range of the matter, as seen by Zionism, and not only the issues of antisemitism and the Yiddish language, to which the *Neue Zeit* had limited the Jewish question (and even these were considered with a negative attitude). The conquest of parts of the Jewish Pale by Germany was accompanied by the discovery of an unknown culture. The editorial board, including both the Jews and the gentiles, was influenced by this discovery.
57. On Joseph Bloch's political orientation see the article in note 51. His personal position, however, may be taken to represent that of the entire editorial staff. The war against Russia was popular among Marxists as well, and even the sympathy for Turkey could be based on a similar sentiment of Marx. The approval of the colonization and settlement in countries across the sea was not unfamiliar to socialism, starting with Saint Simon. Hess's enthusiasm for colonial enterprises such as the French settlements in Algeria and Lebanon

- (which were seen as examples of the possible settlement of Jews in Palestine) was shared by many, and was also the foundation of the sympathy for the Boers at the beginning of the twentieth century. Studies that do not take into account this pre-World War I mood are not historical.
58. *Der Jude. Eine Monatsschrift*. 1916–1917, Berlin, Wien. Among the regular contributors to this monthly publication one may note Bernstein, Quessel and Kranold. The contributors to *Der Jude* who also wrote for the *Monatshefte* were Max Rosenfeld, Berl Locker and Pernaldorfer.
 59. The attitude toward the quasi-socialist movements founded by these two was different and surprising in both camps of the German Social-Democratic movement: the former Lassalleans were immune to their influence because of their belief that there was only one way to socialism, namely, that proclaimed by Lassalle. The “Marxists”, however, were influenced by them ideologically and also hoped that they could benefit from their success. Friedrich Engels came out in opposition to this illusion in his book *Anti-Duehring*, as well as in many of his letters.
 60. The preservation of the three empires, the German, the Austrian and the Russian, in order to secure their future seizure by the socialists, was the *Neue Zeit*’s guiding principle, as well as that of its Austrian brother, the *Kampf*. There were indeed differences between the Austro-Marxists and Kautsky regarding tactic details, but none as far as this principle was concerned. They also agreed in their campaign against Jewish nationality, which stood as an example of the aspiration to dismantle the great powers’ centralism for the sake of the organization of the small nations.
 61. SM VIII, August 1904, pp. 646–653.
 62. *Idem*, p. 648.
 63. The Bund’s response: SM VIII pp. 471–472.
 64. Eduard Bernstein, “Fragen der Taktik in Russland”, SM X, March 1906, pp. 208–217.
 65. *Idem*, pp. 209–210.
 66. A *social* movement is a movement which declares that its goal is the maintenance of the existing social order. The revisionist movement declares that its intention is to change this order. The Marxists say that this is a misleading presentation of their intentions, since their aim is merely social. Regarding someone like Bernstein this claim is certainly erroneous; regarding many socialists, both Marxists and revisionists, it is not.
 67. NZ XXXII/1, 1913–14, pp. 744–52. This article suits the *Monatshefte* spirit, but it was published in the *Neue Zeit*. Bernstein had renewed his participation in this periodical; apparently this was related to Mehring’s retirement from it, and was a counter-influence to the penetration of radical exiles from the East, such as Riasanov into the editorial board.
 68. NZ XXXIII/2, 1915, pp. 753–759.
 69. Bernstein’s opposition to what he considered the Jewish settler’s chauvinism, stemmed from his negative attitude toward chauvinism in general. His attitude toward Zionism is that of a non-Zionist, but a sympathizer. This is in accord with the article written shortly afterwards in *Der Jude*, II pp. 186–195: “Wie ich als Jude in der Diaspora aufwuchs”. The very use of the word “diaspora” distinguishes him from Kautsky.
 70. SM XXIV/2, 1918, pp. 784–789. The author is Max Rosenfeld.
 71. SM XXIV/2, 1918, pp. 1065–1071. Written by Julius Berger.
 72. One should in principle distinguish between the Jewish question as far as the gentile environment is concerned and its perception among Jews as their own problem. Jacob Toury, “The Jewish Question — A Semantic Approach” *LBYP* XI, 1966, pp. 85–106 is the basic reading on this issue.